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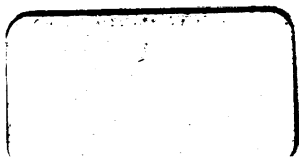
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THE

GRECIAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST STATE

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TO THE

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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BY DR. GOLDSMITH.



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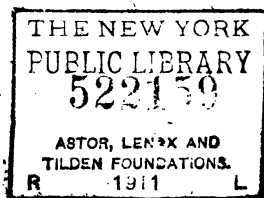
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Of the earliest state of Greece.

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4. Thus the fanciful pictures of a strong imagination are taught to assume a serious severity, and tend to deceive the reader still more, by offering, in the garb of truth, what had been only meant to delight and allure him.

5. The fabulous age, therefore, of Greece must have no place in history. It is now too late to separate those parts which may have a real foundation in nature from those which owe their existence wholly to the imagination. There are no traces left to guide us in that intricate pursuit. The dews of the morning are past, and it is in vain to attempt continuing the chase in meridian splendour. It will be sufficient, therefore, for us to observe, that Greece, like most other countries, of whose origin we have any notice, was at first divided into a number of petty states, each commanded by its own sovereign.

6. Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, is bounded on the east by the Egean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Of such very narrow extent, and so very contemptible with regard to territory was that country which gave birth to all the arts of war and peace; which produced the greatest generals, philosophers, poets, painters, architects, and statuaries that the world ever boasted; which overcame the most powerful monarchs, and dispersed the most numerous armies that ever were brought into the field, and at last became the instructor of all mankind.

7. It is said in scripture that Javan, the son of Japeth, was the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks. Of his four sons, Elisha, or Elias, is said to have given name to the *Ελλήνες*, a general name by which the Greeks were known. Tharsis, the second son, is thought to have settled in Achaia; Chittim settled in Macedonia; and Dodanim, the fourth son, in Thessaly in Epirus. How they portioned out the country, what revolutions they experienced, or what wars they maintained, are utterly unknown. And indeed the history of petty barbarous states, if known, would hardly recompense the trouble of inquiry.

8. In those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable: a single city, with a few leagues of land, was often honoured with that magnificent appellation; it would therefore embarrass history to enter into the domestic privacy of every little state, as it would be rather a subject for the economist than the politician. It will suffice to observe, that Sicyon is said to have been the most ancient kingdom of Greece. The beginning of this petty sovereignty is placed by historians in the year of the world, one

thousand nine hundred and fifteen; before Jesus Christ, two thousand eighty-nine; and before the first Olympiad, one thousand three hundred and thirteen. The first king was *Egialeus*. Its duration is said to have been a thousand years.

9. The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king was *Inachus*. A. M. 2148.

10. The kingdom of *Mycænæ* succeeded. The seat of government was translated thither from Argos by *Perseus*, the grandson of *Acrisius*, the last king of that country, whom *Perseus* unfortunately slew. The kings who reigned at *Mycænæ* after *Perseus*, were *Electryon*, *Sthenelus*, and *Eurystheus*; the latter of whom was driven out by the *Heraclidæ*, or the descendants of *Hercules*, who made themselves masters of Peloponnesus.

11. The kingdom of Athens was first founded by *Cecrops*, an Egyptian. This prince, having settled in Attica, divided the whole country subject to him into twelve districts, and also established a court for judging causes, entitled the *areopagus*. *Amphictyon*, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy among the twelve states of Greece, which assembled twice a year at *Thermopylæ*, there to offer up common sacrifices, and to consult for the common interests of the association. *Theseus*, one of the succeeding kings of this state, united the twelve boroughs of *Cecrops* into one city. A. M. 2448.

12. *Codrus* was the last of this line; he devoted himself to death for his people. The *Heraclidæ* having made an irruption as far as the gates of Athens, the oracle declared that they should be conquerors whose king should fall in this contest. To take the earliest advantage, therefore, of this answer, *Codrus* disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and provoking one of the enemy's soldiers, was killed by him. Whereupon, the Athenians sent a herald to demand the body of their king, which message struck such a damp into the enemy, that they departed without striking another blow.

13. After *Codrus*, the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. *Medon*, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of archon, which signifies chief governor. The first of this denomination had their places for life, but the Athenians growing weary of a government which repressed their love of freedom, they abridged the term of the archon's power to ten years, and at last made the office elective every year.

14. The kingdom of Thebes was first founded by A. M. Cadmus. This hero coming by sea from the coast of 2549. Phœnicia, settled in that part of the country which was afterwards called Bœotia. He there built the city of Thebes, which, from his own name, he called Cadmæa, and there fixed his seat of power and dominion. The adventures of his unhappy posterity, Laius, Jocasto, Oedipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, make a shining figure among the poetical fictions of that period.

15. The kingdom of Sparta or Lacedæmon, is supposed to have been first instituted by Lelia. Helena, the tenth in succession from this monarch, is equally famous for her beauty and infidelity. She had not lived above three years with her husband, Menelaus, before she was carried off by Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy. This seems to be the first occasion in which the Greeks united in one common cause. The Greeks took Troy, after a ten years' siege, much about the time that Jephthah was the judge in Israel.

16. Corinth began later than the other cities above mentioned to be formed into a state, or to be governed by its A. M. kings. It was at first subject to Argos and Mycænæ; 2628. but Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it; and when his descendants were dispossessed, A. M. Bachis assumed the reins of power. The government 2930. after this became aristocratical, a chief magistrate being annually chosen by the name of prytanni. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander, who was ranked among the seven wise men of Greece, from the love he bore to learning, and his encouragement of its professors.

17. The kingdom of Macedonia was first governed by Caranus, descended from Hercules, and subsisted from his time till the defeat of Perseus by the Romans, a space of six hundred and twenty-six years.

18. Such is the picture Greece offers in its earliest infancy. A combination of little states, each governed by its respective sovereign, yet all uniting for their mutual safety and general advantage. Still, however, their intestine contentions were carried on with great animosity; and as it happens in all petty states under the dominion of a single commander, the jealousies of the princes were a continual cause of discord. From this distressful situation, those states, by degrees began to emerge; a different spirit began to seize the people, and, sick of the contentions of their princes, they desired to be free. A spirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece; and a general change of government was effected in every part of the country except in Mace-

donia. Thus monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

19. All these cities, though seemingly different from each other in their laws and interest, were united with each other by one common language, one religion, and a national pride that taught them to consider all other nations as barbarous and feeble. Even Egypt itself, from whence they had derived many of their arts and institutions, was considered in a very subordinate light, and rather as a half barbarous predecessor, than an enlightened rival.

20. To make this union among the states of Greece still stronger, there were games instituted in different parts of the country, with rewards for excellence in every pursuit. These sports were instituted for very serious and useful purposes : they afforded an opportunity for the several states meeting together ; they gave them a greater zeal for their common religion ; they exercised the youth for the purposes of war, and increased that vigour and activity which was then of the utmost importance in deciding the fate of a battle.

21. But their chief bond of union arose from the council of the Amphictyons, which was instituted by Amphictyon king of Athens, as is already mentioned, and was appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate for the general good of those states of whose deputies it was composed. The states who sent deputies to the council, were twelve, namely, the Thessalians, the Thebans, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perhaebeans, the Magnates, the Locrians, the Oetans, the Pthiotes, the Maleans, the Phocians, and the Dolopians.

22. Each of those cities which had a right to assist at the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to send two deputies to every meeting. The one was entitled the hieromnemon, who took care of the interests of religion, the other was called the pylagoras, and had in charge the civil interest of his community. Each of these deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general interests of Greece.

23. But, although the number of deputies seems to have been settled originally so as to answer the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet in process of time, or some extraordinary occasions, the principal cities assumed a power of sending more than one pylagoras to assist in a critical emergency, or to serve the purposes of a faction.

24. When the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute

their commission, after offering up sacrifices to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, they took an oath, implying, that they would never subvert any city of the Amphictyons, never stop the course of waters, either in war or peace, and that they would oppose any attempts to lessen the reverence and authority of the gods, to whom they had paid their adoration. Thus, all offences against religion, all instances of impiety and profanation, all contests between the Grecian states and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impose fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war against those who offered to rebel against their sovereign authority.

25. These different motives to confederacy united the Greeks for a time into a body of great power, and greater emulation. By this association, a country not half so large as England, was able to dispute the empire of the earth with the most powerful monarchs of the world. By this association, they not only made head against the numerous armies of Persia; but dispersed, routed, and destroyed them, reducing their pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace as shameful to the conquered as glorious to the conquerors.

26. But among all the cities of Greece there were two that by their merit, their valour, and their wisdom, particularly distinguished themselves from the rest, these were Athens and Lacedæmon. As these cities served as an example of bravery or learning to the rest, and as the chief burden of every foreign war devolved upon them, it will be proper to enter into their particular history with greater minuteness, and to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their respective inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Government of Sparta, and the Laws of Lycurgus.

1. **ALTHOUGH** the kingdom of Lacedæmon was not so considerable as that of Athens, yet as it was of much earlier institution, it demands our first attention. Lacedæmon, as observed before, was in the beginning governed by kings, of which thirteen held the reins of power in succession, of the race of the Pelopidæ. As, during this dark interval, there was no fixed laws to limit the prerogative, and no ideas of true government among the people, it does not appear that there were any considerable encroachments made either on the side of the king or that of the people.

2. Under the race of the Heraclidæ, who succeeded, instead of one king, the people admitted two, who governed with equal authority. The cause of this change seems to have sprung from a very particular accident; for Aristodemus dying, left two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, twins, so much alike that it was hardly possible to distinguish them asunder. From hence the hint was taken by the mother, of fixing the crown upon both; so that when the Spartans came for a king, she was either unable or unwilling to decide which of them was first born, or which had the justest pretensions. This form of government continued for several succeeding centuries, and although the one was almost ever at variance with his associate on the throne, yet the government remained entire.

3. It was during this succession that slavery was first instituted in Sparta. Eurysthenes and Procles, having granted the countrymen of Sparta the same privileges with the citizens, Agis reversed what his predecessors had done in favour of the peasants, and imposed a tribute upon them. The Helotes were the only people that would not acquiesce in this impost, but rose in rebellion to vindicate their rights: the citizens, however, prevailed, the Helotes were subdued and made prisoners of war. As a still greater punishment, they and their posterity were condemned to perpetual slavery; and to increase their miseries still more, all other slaves were called by the general name of Helotes.

4. It would appear from hence that this little state was governed with turbulence and oppression, and required the curb of severe laws and rigorous discipline. These severities and rigorous discipline were at last imposed upon it by Lycurgus, one of the first and most extraordinary legislators that ever appeared among mankind.

5. There is, perhaps, nothing more remarkable in profane history, yet nothing so well attested, as what relates to the laws and government of Lycurgus. What indeed can be more amazing than to behold a mutinous and savage race of mankind yielding submission to laws that controlled every sensual pleasure, and every private affection; to behold them give up, for the good of the state all the comforts and conveniences of private life, and making a state of domestic privacy more severe and terrible than the most painful campaigns and the most warlike duties. Yet all this was effected by the perseverance and authority of a single legislator, who gave the first lesson of hard resignation in his own generous example.

6. Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. The two kings dying without apparent issue, the right of succession rested in Lycurgus,

who accordingly took the administration upon him. But an unexpected event came to interrupt his promotion; for the queen, his sister-in-law, proving with child, his right became doubtful. A man of less probity would have used every precaution to secure himself upon the throne; and a proposal which was made him by the queen seemed to secure his pretensions. She offered to destroy the birth upon condition that he would marry her and take her into a share of power.

7. Lycurgus wisely smothered his resentment to so unnatural a proposal; and fearful that she might use means to put her project in execution, assured her, that as soon as the child was born, he would take upon himself to remove it out of the way. Accordingly she was delivered of a boy, which Lycurgus commanded should be brought to him, as he was at supper with the magistrates; to them he presented the child as their king, and to testify his own and the people's joy, gave him the name of Charilaus. Thus Lycurgus sacrificed his ambition to his duty; and still more, continued his regency, not as king, but governor. However, dreading the resentment of the queen, and finding the state in great disorder, he resolved by travelling to avoid the dangers of the one, and to produce a remedy for the defects of the other.

8. Thus resolving to make himself acquainted with all the improvements of other nations, and to consult the most experienced persons he could meet with in the art of government, he began with the island of Crete, whose hard and severe laws were very much admired. In this island the handicraft trades were brought to some degree of perfection. There they wrought in copper and iron, and made armour, in which they danced, with a confused noise of bells, at the sacrifices of their gods. It is from them that the art of navigation was first known in Greece, and from them many legislators derived the principles of their respective institutions.

9. From Crete Lycurgus passed over into Asia, where he still found new information, and is said to have first made the discovery of the works of Homer. From thence he went into Egypt, and is said by some to have had conferences with the gymnosophists of India. But while thus employed abroad, his presence began to be greatly wanted at home. All parties conspired to wish his coming. And many messages were sent to hasten his return. The kings themselves importuned him to that effect, and let him know, that the people were arrived at such a pitch of disorder, that nothing but his authority could control their licentiousness. In fact, every thing tended to the unavoidable destruction of the state, and nothing but his presence was wished to check its increasing dissolution.

10. Lycurgus at length persuaded to return, found the people wearied out with their own importunities, and ready to receive any new impressions he might attempt. Wherefore the corruption being general, he found it necessary to change the whole form of the government; sensible that a few particular laws would produce no great effect. But considering the efficacy of religion in promoting every new institution, he went first to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, where he met a reception that might flatter his highest ambition, for he was saluted by the priestess as the friend of the gods, and rather as a god than man. As to his new institution also, he was told that the gods heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish, would be the most excellent and durable upon earth.

11. Thus encouraged, on his return to Sparta, Lycurgus first communicated his designs to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained over the leading men to his party, until things being ripe for a change, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place. Charilaus, who was at that time king, seemed at first willing to oppose this revolution, but being intimidated by a superior force, he took shelter in the temple of Minerva; whence, being prevailed upon by his subjects, and being also of a flexible temper, he came forth and joined the confederacy. The people soon acquiesced under a set of institutions which were evidently calculated for their improvement, and gladly acknowledged submission to laws which leaned with equal weight upon every rank of society.

12. To continue the *kings* still with a shadow of power, he confirmed them in their right of succession as before, but diminished their authority by instituting a senate, which was to serve as a counterpoise between their prerogative and the people. They still, however, had all their former marks of outward dignity and respect. They had the chief seats in every public assembly; in voting they were allowed first to give their opinion; they received ambassadors and strangers, and overlooked public buildings and highways. In the field they were possessed of greater power; they conducted the armies of the state, and were attended by judges, field-deputies, and a general of the horse. However, they were not entirely at liberty even in war, as they received their orders from the senate, which, though for the most part, discretionary, yet they were sometimes forced to march against the enemy, or return home when they least desired to retreat.

13. The government hitherto had been unsteady, tending at one time towards despotism, at another to democracy; but the senate instituted by Lycurgus served as a check upon both, and

kept the state balanced in tranquillity. This body, which was composed of twenty-eight members, founded their chief policy in siding with the kings when the people were grasping at too much power; and on the other hand, in espousing the interest of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

14. The senators were composed of those who assisted Lycurgus in his designs, as well as of several of the citizens remarkable for their private virtues; but none were eligible till sixty years of age. They were continued for life, except upon any notorious crime; and this, as it prevented the inconveniences of too frequent a change, so it was a lasting reward to the old, and a noble incentive to the young. These formed the supreme court of judicature; and though there lay an appeal from them to the people, yet as they were only convened at the pleasure of the senate, and as the senators were not responsible for any wrong judgment, their decrees generally passed without an appeal.

15. Indeed, for several ages, such was the caution and such the integrity of this tribunal, that none seemed desirous of seeking farther justice, and both parties acquiesced in the justice of their decree. However, the great power which the senate was thus possessed of, was about a century after tempered by the erection of a superior court, called the court of the *ephorî*, which consisted of but five in number, and the members were chosen annually into their office. They were elected from the people, and had a power of arresting and imprisoning even the persons of their kings, if they acted unbecoming their station.

16. The people also had a nominal share in the government. They had their assemblies consisting of citizens only; and also their great convention of all persons who were free of the state. But this power of convening was but a mere matter of form, as the senate alone was permitted to call them together, and as it was in the option of that body to dismiss them at pleasure. The subject of deliberation also was to be of their proposal, while the people, denied the privilege of debating or discussing, could only reject or ratify with laconic decision. To keep them still more helpless, they were left out of all offices of the state, and were considered merely as machines, which their wiser fellow-citizens were to conduct and employ.

17. So small a degree of power granted to the people might be apt to destroy these institutions in their infancy; but to reconcile them to the change, Lycurgus boldly resolved to give them a share in those lands of which, by the increasing riches of some, and the dissipation of others, they had been deprived. To keep the people in plenty and dependance, seems to have

been one of the most refined strokes in this philosopher's legislation.

18. The generality of the people were at that time so poor, that they were destitute of every kind of possession, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and the wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to banish the insolence, the fraud, and the luxury of the one, as well as the misery, the repining, and the factious despair of the others, he persuaded the majority, and forced the rest, to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in perfect equality. Thus all the sensual goods of life were equally distributed among the governors and the governed; and superior merit alone conferred superior distinction.

19. Lycurgus accordingly divided all the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, and those of Sparta into nine thousand, and these he portioned out to the respective inhabitants of each district. Each portion was sufficient to maintain a family in that frugal manner he proposed; and, though the kings had a larger share assigned them to support their dignity, yet their tables had rather an air of decency and competency, than of superfluity or profusion.

20. It is said that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, observing how equally the corn was divided in all parts of the country, he was heard to observe, smiling on those next him, *Does not Laconia look like an estate which several brothers have been dividing amongst them.*

21. But it would have answered no permanent purpose to divide the lands, if the money were still suffered to accumulate. To prevent, therefore, all other distinction but that of merit, he resolved to level down all fortune to one standard. He did not indeed strip those possessed of gold or silver of their property; but, what was equivalent, he cried down its value, and suffered nothing but iron money to pass in exchange for every commodity. This coin also he made so heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required to carry home a sum of ten minas, or about twenty pounds English, and a whole house was necessary to keep it in.

22. This iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who, so far from esteeming it, treated it with the utmost contempt and ridicule. From the neglect of foreigners, the Spartans themselves began to despise it, so that money was at last brought into disuse, and few troubled themselves with more than was barely sufficient to supply their necessities. Thus not only riches, but their attendant train of avarice, fraud,

rapine, and luxury, were banished from this simple state; and the people found in ignorance of riches a happy substitute for the want of those refinements they bestow.

23. But these institutions were not thought sufficient to prevent that tendency which mankind have to private excess. A third regulation was therefore made, commanding that all meals should be in public. He ordained that all the men should eat in one common hall without distinction; and lest strangers should attempt to corrupt his citizens by their example, a law was expressly made against their continuance in the city. By these means frugality was not only necessary, but the use of riches was at once abolished. Every man sent monthly his provision to the common stock, with a little money for other contingent expenses. These consisted of one bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, and two pounds and a half of figs.

24. The tables consisted of fifteen persons each, where none could be admitted but by the consent of the whole company. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after, when Agis returned from a successful expedition, he was punished and reprimanded for having eaten with his queen in private. The very children eat of these meals, and were carried thither as to a school of temperance and wisdom.

25. At these homely repasts no rude or immoral conversation was permitted, no loquacious disputes or ostentatious talking. Each endeavoured to express his sentiments with the utmost perspicuity and conciseness; wit was admitted to season the banquet, and secrecy to give it security. As soon as a young man came into the room, the oldest man in company used to say to him, pointing to the door, "Nothing spoken here must go that way."

26. Black broth was their favourite dish; of what ingredients it was made is not known, but they used no flesh in their entertainments. It probably resembled those lenten soups which are still in use on the continent. Dionysius, the tyrant, found their fare very unpalatable; but, as the cook asserted, the broth was nothing without the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

27. An injunction so rigorous, which thus cut off all the delicacies and refinements of luxury, was by no means pleasing to the rich, who took every occasion to insult the lawgiver upon his new regulations. The tumults they excited were frequent; and in one of these, a young fellow, whose name was Alexander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. But he had the majority of the people on his side, who, provoked at the outrage, delivered

the young man into his hands to treat him with all proper severity.

28. Lycurgus, instead of testifying any brutal resentment, won over his aggressor by all the arts of affability and tenderness, till at last, from being one of the proudest and most turbulent men of Sparta, he became an example of wisdom and moderation, and an useful assistant to Lycurgus in promoting his new institutions.

29. Thus, undaunted by opposition, and steady in his designs, he went on to make a thorough reformation in the manners of his countrymen. As the education of the youth was one of the most important objects of a legislator's care, he took care to instil such early principles, that children should in a manner be born with a sense of order and discipline. His grand principle was, that children were properly the possession of the state, and belonged to the community more than to their parents. To this end he began from the very time of their conception, making it the mother's duty to use such diet and exercise as might fit her to produce a vigorous and healthy offspring.

30. As during this period, all institutions were tinged with the savageness of the times, it is not wonderful that Lycurgus ordained that all such children as, upon a public view, were deemed deformed or weakly, and unfitted for a future life of vigour and fatigue, should be exposed to perish in a cavern near mount Taygetus. This was considered as a public punishment upon the mother; and it was thought the readiest way to lighten the state of future incumbrance.

31. Those infants that were born without any capital defects, were adopted as children of the state, and delivered to their parents to be nursed with severity and hardship. From their tenderest age they were accustomed to make no choice in their eating, nor to be afraid in the dark, or when left alone, not to be peevish or fretful, to walk barefoot, to lie hard at nights, to wear the same clothes winter and summer, and to fear nothing from their equals.

32. At the age of seven years they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the classes for a public education. Their discipline there was little else than an apprenticeship to hardship, self-denial, and obedience. In these classes, one of the boys, more advanced and experienced than the rest, presided as captain to govern and chastise the refractory. Their very sports and exercises were regulated according to the exactest discipline, and made up of labour and fatigue: They went barefoot, with their heads shaved, and fought with one another naked.

33. While they were at table it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys, by asking them questions concerning the nature of moral actions, or the different merits of the most noted men of the time. The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready answer, which was to be accompanied with their reasons in the concisest manner, for a Spartan's language was as sparing as his money was ponderous and bulky.

34. All ostentatious learning was banished from this simple commonwealth, their only study was to obey, their only pride was to suffer hardship. Every art was practised to harden them against adventitious danger. There was yearly a custom of whipping them at the altar of Diana, and the boy that bore this punishment with the greatest fortitude, came off victorious.

35. This was inflicted publicly before the eyes of their parents, and in the presence of the whole city; and many were known to expire under the severity of the discipline, without uttering a single groan. Even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch, who says that he has seen several children expire under this cruel treatment, tells us of one who having stolen a fox, and hid it under his coat, chose rather to let it tear his very bowels than discover the theft.

36. Every institution seems tending to harden the body, and sharpen the mind for war. In order to prepare them for stratagems and sudden incursions, the boys were permitted to steal from each other; but if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. Such a permission, therefore, was little better than a prohibition of theft, since the punishment followed, as at present, in case of detection. In fact, by this institution, negligence in the possessor was made justly liable to the loss of the possessions, a consideration which has not been sufficiently attended to by subsequent legislators.

37. At twelve years old, the boys were removed into other classes, of a more advanced kind. There, in order to crush the seeds of vice, which at that time began to appear, their labour and discipline were increased with their age. There they had their instructor from among the men, called Pædonomus, and under him the Irens, young men selected from their own body, to exercise a more constant and immediate command over them.

38. They had now their skirmishes between parties, and their mock fights between larger bodies. In these they often fought with hands, feet, teeth, and nails, with such obstinacy,

that it was common to see them lose their eyes, and often their lives, before the fray determined. Such was the constant discipline of the minority, which lasted till the age of thirty, before which they were not permitted to marry, to go into the troops, or to bear any office in the state.

39. With regard to the virgins, their discipline was equally strict with the former. They were inured to a constant course of labour and industry until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not considered marriageable. They had also their peculiar exercises. They ran, wrestled, pitched the bar, and performed all these feats naked before the whole body of the citizens. Yet this was thought no way indecent, as it was supposed that the frequent view of the person would rather check than excite any looser appetite.

40. An education so manlike did not fail to produce in the Spartan women corresponding sentiments. They were bold, frugal, and patriotic, filled with a sense of honour, and a love of military glory. Some foreign women, in conversation with the wife of Leonidas, saying that the Spartan women alone knew how to govern the men, she boldly replied, "the Spartan women alone bring forth men."

41. A mother was known to give her son, who was going to battle, his shield, with this remarkable advice: *Return with it, or return upon it.* Implying, that rather than throw it from him in flight, he should be borne upon it dead to his friends in Sparta.

42. Another hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, she answered without any emotion, "It is for that I brought him into the world." After the battle of Leuctra, the parents of those who died in the action, went to the temples to thank the gods, that their sons had done their duty, while those whose children survived that dreadful day, seemed inconsolable.

43. Yet it must not be concealed, that in a city where the women were inspired with such a passion for military glory, they were not equally remarkable for connubial fidelity. In fact, there was no law against adultery, and an exchange of husbands was often actually practised among them. This was always by the mutual consent of parties, which removed the tedious ceremonies of a divorce. One reason assigned for allowing this mutual liberty, was not so much to gratify licentious desire, as to improve the breed of citizens, by matching such as were possessed of mutual inclination. In fact, in many of the laws of Lycurgus he seems to admit that private vices may become public benefits, and this among the number.

44. Besides these constitutional regulations, there were many other general maxims laid down, that obtained the force of laws among them. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The chief occupations of the Spartans were bodily exercises or hunting. The Helotes, who had lost their liberty some centuries before, and who had been condemned to perpetual slavery, tilled their lands for them, receiving for their labour a bare subsistence.

45. The citizens, thus possessed of competence and leisure, were mostly in company in large common halls, where they met and conversed together. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always attentive to their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and the public good was their predominant passion : and all self-interest was lost in the general wish for the welfare of the community. Pedaratus having missed the honour of being chosen of the three hundred who had a certain rank in the city, converted his disappointment into joy, *that there were three hundred better men in Sparta than he.*

46. Among the maxims of their legislator, it was forbidden them to make frequent war upon the same enemies. By this inhibition they were restrained from lasting and immoderate resentment, they were in no danger of teaching their discipline to those they made war upon, and all their alliances were thus more frequently renewed.

47. Whenever they had broken and routed the enemies, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of victory. They thought it sufficiently glorious to overcome, and were ashamed of destroying an enemy that yielded or fled. Nor was this without answering some good purposes : for an enemy, conscious that all who resisted were put to the sword, often fled, as they were convinced that such a conduct was the surest means of obtaining safety. Thus valour and generosity seemed the ruling motives of this new institution. Arms were their only exercise, and their life was much less austere in the camp than in the city.

48. The Spartans were the only people in the world to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment : because then the severity of their manners was relaxed, and the men were indulged in greater liberties. With them the first and most inviolable law of war was never to turn their backs on the enemy, however disproportioned in force, nor to deliver up their arms until they resigned them with life.

49. When the poet Archilochus came to Sparta he was obliged to quit the city for having asserted in one of his poems,

that it was better for a man to lose his arms than his life. Thus resolved upon conquest or death, they went calmly forward with all the confidence of success, sure of meeting a glorious victory, or, what they valued equally, a noble death.

50. Thus depending upon their valour alone for safety, their legislator forbid walling the city. It was his maxim that a wall of men was preferable to a wall of bricks, and that confined valour was scarce preferable to cowardice. Indeed, a city, in which were thirty thousand fighting men, stood in little need of walls to protect it; and we have scarce an instance in history, of their suffering themselves to be driven to their last retreats.

51. War and its honours was their employment and ambition. Their Helotes, or slaves, tilled their grounds, and did all their servile drudgery. These unhappy men were in a manner bound to the soil; it was not lawful to sell them to strangers, or to make them free. If at any time their increase became inconvenient, or created a suspicion in their fierce masters, there was a diabolical *cryptia*, or secret act, by which they were permitted to destroy them.

52. From this barbarous severity, however, Lycurgus is acquitted by Plutarch; but it is plain, that his institutions were not sufficient to restrain the people from such baseness and cruelty. It was by this abominable act allowed for several companies of young men to go out of the city by day, and, concealing themselves in the thickets, to rush out in the night upon their slaves, and kill all they could find in their way. Thucydides relates, that two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once without ever after being heard of.

53. It is truly amazing, how a people like the Spartans, renowned for lenity to the conquered, for submission to their superiors, for reverence to old age, and friendship for each other, should yet be so horribly brutal to those beneath them, to men that ought to be considered in every respect as their equals, as their countrymen, and only degraded by an unjust usurpation. Yet nothing is more certain than their cruel treatment: they were not only condemned to the most servile occupations, but often destroyed without reason. They were frequently made drunk and exposed before the children, in order to deter them from so brutal a species of debauchery.

54. Such was the general purport of the institutions of Lycurgus, which, from their tendency, gained the esteem and admiration of all the surrounding nations. The Greeks were ever apt to be dazzled rather with splendid than useful virtues: d praised the laws of Lycurgus, which at best were calculated

to make men more warlike than happy, and to substitute insensibility to enjoyment.

55. If considered in a political light, the city of Lacedæmon was but a military garrison, supported by the labour of a numerous peasantry that were slaves. The laws, therefore, by which they were governed, are not much more rigorous than many of the military institutions of modern princes. The same labour, the same discipline, the same poverty, and the same subordination, is found in many of the garrisoned towns of Europe that prevailed for so many centuries in Sparta.

56. The only difference that appears to me between a soldier of Lacedæmon, and a soldier in garrison at Gravelines, is, that the one was permitted to marry at thirty, and the other is obliged to continue single all his life: the one lives in the midst of a civilized country, which he is supposed to protect; the other lived in the midst of a number of civilized states, which he had no inclination to offend. War is equally the trade of both: and a campaign is frequently a relaxation from the more rigorous confinement of garrison duty.

57. When Lycurgus had thus completed his military institution, and when the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself, his next care was to give it all the permanence in his power. He, therefore, signified to the people that something still remained for the completion of his plan, and that he was under the necessity of going to consult the oracle at Delphos for its advice. In the mean time, he persuaded them to take an oath for the strict observance of all his laws till his return, and then departed with a full resolution of never seeing Sparta more.

58. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the oracle to know whether the laws he had made were sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy: and being answered, that nothing was wanting to their perfection, he sent his answer to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death. Others say, that he died in Crete, ordering his body to be burned, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea. The death of this great lawgiver gave a sanction and authority to his laws which his life was unable to confer.

59. The Spartans regarded his end as the most glorious of all his actions, a noble finishing of all his former services; they considered themselves as bound by every tie of gratitude and religion to a strict observance of all his institutions; and the long continuance of the Spartan government is a proof of their persevering resolution.

60. The Lacedæmonians thus constituted, seemed only de-

sirous of an opportunity of displaying the superiority of their power among the neighbouring states, their rivals. The war between them and the Messenians soon taught them to know the advantages of their military institutions ; but as I am hastening to more important events, I will touch upon this as concisely as I can.

61. There was a temple of Diana common to the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, standing upon the borders of either kingdom. It was there that the Messenians were accused of attempting the chastity of some Spartan virgins ; and of killing Teleculus, one of the Spartan kings, who interposed in their defence. The Messenians, on the other hand, denied the charge, and averred that these supposed virgins were young men thus dressed up with daggers under their clothes, and placed there by Teleculus with an intent to surprise them.

62. To the mutual resentment occasioned by this, another cause of animosity was soon after added : Polychares, a Messenian, who had won the prize in the Olympic games, let out some cows to pasture to Euphænus, a Lacedæmonian, who was to pay himself for their keeping with a share of the increase. Euphænus sold the cows, and pretended they were stolen from him.

63. Polychares sent his son to demand the money ; but the Lacedæmonian, to aggravate his crime, killed the young man, and persuaded his countrymen to give no redress. Polychares, therefore, undertook to do himself justice, and killed all the Lacedæmonians that came in his way. Expostulations passed between both kingdoms, till at last the affair came to a general war, which was carried on for many years, with doubtful success.

64. In this situation the Messenians sent to consult the oracle of Delphos, who required the sacrifice of a virgin of the family of Æpytus. Upon casting lots among the descendants of this prince, the chance fell upon the daughter of Lycisus : but being thought to be suppositious, Aristodemus offered his daughter, whom all allowed to be his own. Her lover, however, attempted to avert the blow, by asserting that she was with child by him, but her father was so enraged that he ripped up her belly with his own hand publicly to vindicate her innocence.

65. The enthusiasm which this sacrifice produced, served for a while to give the Messenians the advantage ; but being at last overthrown and besieged in the city of Ithoe, Aristodemus finding all things desperate, slew himself upon his daughter's grave. With him fell the kingdom of Messenia, not without a most obstinate resistance, and many a defeat of the Spartan army, which they held thus engaged for above twenty years.

66. Nor must we omit one memorable transaction of the Lacedæmonians during this war : having drained their city of all its male inhabitants, and obliged themselves by oath not to return until their designs were accomplished ; their women in the mean time, remonstrated, that from their long absence all posterity would be at an end.

67. To remedy this inconvenience, they detached fifty of their most promising young men from the army to go to Sparta, and to lie promiscuously with all the young women they fancied. The offspring of these virgins were, from them, called Partheniæ ; who finding themselves contemned and slighted by the Spartans on their return, joined some years after, in an insurrection with the Helotes ; but were soon suppressed. Being expelled the state, they went under the conduct of their captain, Philanthus, and settled at Tarentum, in Italy.

68. After a rigorous subjection of thirty-nine years, the Messenians, once more, made a vigorous struggle for freedom, being headed by Aristomenes, a young man of great courage and capacity. The success of the first engagement was doubtful ; and the Lacedæmonians being advised by the oracle to send for a general from among the Athenians, this politic state sent them Tyrtæus, a poet and schoolmaster, whose chief business was to harangue and repeat his own verses.

69. The Spartans were little pleased with their new leader ; but their veneration for the oracle kept them obedient to his commands. Their success, however, did not seem to improve with their duty : they suffered a defeat from Aristomenes, who losing his shield in the pursuit, their total overthrow was prevented.

70. A second and a third defeat followed soon after ; so that the Lacedæmonians, quite dispirited, had thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms ; but Tyrtæus so inflamed them by his orations and songs in praise of military glory, that they resolved upon another battle, in which they were victorious ; and soon after, Aristomenes was taken prisoner in a skirmish, with fifty of his followers.

71. The adventures of this hero deserve our notice. Being carried prisoner to Sparta, he was thrown into a deep dungeon, which had been used for the execution of malefactors, and his fifty soldiers with him. They were all killed by the fall, except Aristomenes, who finding a wild beast at the bottom preying upon a carcass, he secured the animal's mouth, and continued to hold by the tail, until the beast made directly to its hole. There, finding the issue too narrow, he was obliged to let go his hold ; but following the track with his eye, he perceived

a glimmering from above, and at length wrought his way out.

72. After this extraordinary escape, he repaired immediately to his troops; and, at their head, made a successful sally by night, against the Corinthian forces. Nevertheless he was once more, shortly after, taken by some Cretans; but his keepers being made drunk, he stabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his forces.

73. But his single valour was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country; although, with his own single prowess, he had thrice earned the Hecatomphonia, a sacrifice due to those who had killed one hundred of the enemy hand to hand in battle. The body of his forces being small, and fatigued with continual duty, the city of Eira, which he defended, was taken; and the Messenians were obliged to take refuge with Anaxilas, a prince of Sicily.

74. As for Tyrtæus, the Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, which was the highest honour they had in their power to bestow. By the accession of the Messenian country to the territory of Sparta, this state became one of the most powerful of all Greece, and was second only to Athens, which state it always considered with an eye of jealousy.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Government of Athens, the Laws of Solon, and the History of the Republic from the time of Solon to the commencement of the Persian war.

1. WE now return to Athens. Codrus, the last king of this state, having devoted himself for the good of his country, a magistrate, under the title of archon, was appointed to succeed him. The first who bore this office was Medon, the son of the late king, who being opposed by his brother Nileus, was preferred by the oracle, and accordingly invested with his new dignity. This magistracy was at first for life: it was soon reduced to a period of ten years, and at last became annual; and in this state it continued for near three hundred years.

2. During this inactive government, little offers to adorn the page of history; the spirit of extensive dominion had not as yet entered into Greece, and the citizens were too much employed in their private intrigues to attend to foreign concerns. Athens, therefore, continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power; content with safety amidst the contending interests of aspiring potentates and factious citizens.

3. A desire of being governed by written laws, at last made way for a new change in government. For more than a century they had seen the good effects of laws in the regulation of the Spartan commonwealth; and, as they were a more enlightened people, they expected greater advantages from a new institution. In the choice, therefore, of a legislator, they pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and unshaken integrity: but rigid even beyond human sufferance.

4. It does not appear, that any state of Greece was possessed of written laws before his time. However, he was not afraid to enact the most severe laws, which laid the same penalties on the most atrocious and the most trifling offences. These laws, which punished all crimes with death, and which were said not to be written with ink, but with blood, were too cruel to be duly and justly administered. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, when his fault was not equal to his suffering, the unwillingness of witnesses to exact too cruel an atonement, their fears also of the resentment of the people; all these conspired to render the laws obsolete, before they could well be put into execution. Thus, the new laws counteracted their own purpose; and their excessive rigour paved the way for the most dangerous impunity.

5. It was in this distressful state of the commonwealth, that Solon was applied to for his advice and assistance, as the wisest and justest man of all Athens. His great learning had acquired him the reputation of being the first of the seven wise men of Greece; and his known humanity procured him the love and veneration of every rank among his fellow-citizens.

6. Solon was a native of Salamis, an island dependent on Athens; but which had revolted, to put itself under the power of the Megareans. In attempting to recover this island, the Athenians had spent much blood and treasure; until, at last, wearied out with such ill-success, a law was made rendering it capital ever to advise the recovery of their lost possession. Solon, however, undertook to persuade them to another trial; and feigning himself mad, ran about the streets, using the most violent gestures and language; but the purport of all was, upbraiding the Athenians for their remissness and effeminacy in giving up their conquests in despair.

7. In short, he acted his part so well, by the oddity of his manner, and the strength of his reasoning, that the people resolved upon another expedition against Salamis; and by a stratagem of his contrivance, in which he introduced several young men upon the island in women's clothes, the place was surprised, and added to the dominion of Athens.

8. But this was not the only occasion on which he exhibited superior address and wisdom. At a time when Greece had carried the arts of eloquence, poetry, and government, higher than they had yet been seen among mankind, Solon was considered as one of the foremost in each perfection. The sages of Greece, whose fame is still undiminished, acknowledged his merit, and adopted him as their associate.

9. The correspondence between these wise men was at once instructive, friendly, and sincere. They were seven in number, namely, Thales the Milesian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobolus, whose birth places are not ascertained. Those sages often visited each other; and their conversations generally turned upon the methods of instituting the best form of government, or the arts of private happiness.

10. One day when Solon went to Miletos to see Thales, the first thing he said was to express his surprise that Thales had never desired to marry, or have children. Thales made him no answer then, but, a few days after, he contrived that a stranger, supposed to arrive from Athens, should join their company. Solon, hearing from whence the stranger came, was inquisitive after the news of his own city; but was only informed that a young man died there, for whom the whole place was in the greatest affliction, as he was reputed the most promising youth in all Athens. "Alas!" cried Solon, "how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! pray what was his name?" "I heard the name," replied the stranger, who was instructed for the occasion, "but I have forgot it: I only remember that all people talked much of his wisdom and justice."

11. Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to the inquisitive father; and he had just strength enough to ask, "if the youth was not the son of Solon?" "The very same," replied the stranger. At which word, Solon showed all the marks of the most inconsolable distress. This was the opportunity which Thales wanted, who took him by the hand and said to him, with a smile; "Comfort yourself, my friend, all that has been told you is mere fiction, but may serve as a very proper answer to your question, why I never thought proper to marry."

12. One day, at the court of Periander of Corinth, a question was proposed; which was the most perfect popular government? "That," said Bias, "where the law has no superior." "That," said Thales, "where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor." "That," said Anacharsis, the Scythian, "where virtue is honoured and vice always detested." "That," said

Cleobolus, "where the citizens fear blame more than punishment." "That," said Chilo, "where the laws are more regarded than the orators." But Solon's opinion seems to have the greatest weight, who said, "where an injury done to the meanest subject, is an insult upon the whole constitution."

13. Upon a certain occasion, when Solon was conversing with Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, about his intended reformation in the state; "Alas!" cried the Scythian, "all your laws will be found to resemble spiders' webs; the weak and small flies will be caught and entangled, but the great and powerful will always have strength enough to break through."

14. Solon's interview with Croesus king of Lydia, is still more celebrated. This monarch, who was reputed the richest of all Asia Minor, was willing to make an ostentatious display of his wealth before the Greek philosopher; and after showing him immense heaps of treasure, and the greatest variety of other ornaments, he demanded whether he did not think the possessor the most happy of all mankind. "No," replied Solon, "I know one man more happy, a poor peasant in Greece, who is neither in affluence or poverty, has but a few wants, and has learned to supply them by his labour."

15. This answer was by no means agreeable to the vain monarch, who, by his question only hoped for a reply that would tend to flatter his pride. Willing, therefore, to extort one still more favourable, he asked, "whether at least he did not think him happy?" "Alas!" cried Solon, "what man can be pronounced happy before he dies?"

16. The integrity and wisdom of Solon's replies appeared in the event. The kingdom of Lydia was invaded by Cyrus, the empire destroyed, and Croesus himself taken prisoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manners of the times, he then too late recollected the maxims of Solon, and could not help crying out, when on the scaffold, upon Solon's name: Cyrus hearing him repeat the name with great earnestness, was desirous of knowing the reason; and being informed by Croesus of that philosopher's remarkable observation, he began to fear for himself; pardoned Croesus, and took him for the future into confidence and friendship. Thus, Solon had the merit of saving one king's life, and of reforming another.

17. Such was the man to whom the Athenians applied for assistance in reforming the severity of their government; and instituting a just body of laws. Athens was, at this time, divided into as many factions as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. Those that lived upon the mountains were fond of exact equality; those that lived in the low country

were for the dominion of a few ; and those that dwelt on the sea coasts, and were consequently addicted to commerce, were for keeping those parties so exactly balanced, as to permit neither to prevail.

18. But, besides these, there was a fourth party, and that by much the most numerous, consisting wholly of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich ; and loaded with debts which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party, which, when they know their own strength, must ever prevail, were now determined to throw off the yoke of their oppressors ; and to choose themselves a chief who should make a reformation in government, by making a new division of lands.

19. As Solon had never sided with either, he was regarded as the refuge of all : the rich liking him, because he was rich : the poor, because he was honest. Though he was, at first, unwilling to undertake so dangerous an employment, he, at last, suffered himself to be chosen archon, and to be constituted supreme legislator, with the unanimous consent of all.

20. This was a situation in which nothing could be added to his power ; yet many of the citizens advised him to make himself king ; but he had too much wisdom to seek after a name which would render him obnoxious to many of his fellow citizens, while he was, in fact, possessed of more than regal authority. *A tyranny, he would say, resembles a fair garden ; it is a beautiful spot while we are within : but it wants a way to get out at.*

21. Rejecting, therefore, the wish of royalty, he resolved upon settling a form of government that should be founded on the basis of just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations but such as were apparently reasonable to the meanest capacity. In short, it was his aim to give the Athenians, not the best of possible constitutions ; but the very best they were capable of receiving.

22. His first attempt was, therefore, in favour of the poor, whose debts he abolished at once, by an express law of insolvency. But to do this, with the least injury he could to the creditor, he raised the value of money in a moderate proportion, by which he nominally increased their riches. But his management, on this occasion, had like to have had very dangerous consequences, for some of his friends, to whom the scheme had been previously communicated, took up vast sums of money while it was low, in order to be possessed of the difference when it became of greater value.

23. Solon himself was suspected of having a hand in this fraud : but to wipe off all suspicion, he remitted his debtors

five, or as others say, fifteen talents; and thus regained the confidence of the people.

24. His next step was to repeal all the laws enacted by Draco, except those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich. He distributed the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to their incomes. Those that were found to have five hundred measures yearly, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred were placed in the second, and those that had but two hundred made up the third.

25. All the rest of the citizens whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class; and were considered as unqualified for any employment whatever. But, to compensate for this exclusion, he gave every private citizen a privilege of voting in the great assembly of the whole body of the state. This, indeed, at first, might appear a concession of small consequence: but it was soon found to contain very solid advantages: for, by the laws of Athens, it was permitted, after the determination of the magistrates, to appeal to the general assembly of the people; and thus, in time, all causes of weight and moment came before them.

26. In some measure to counteract the influence of a popular assembly, he gave greater weight to the court of Areopagus, and also instituted another council consisting of four hundred. The Areopagus, so called from the place where the court was held, had been established some centuries before, but Solon restored and augmented its authority. To this court was committed the care of causing the laws to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made judges of that tribunal.

27. Solon was the first who thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity but such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this court; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans, sometimes, referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

28. Nothing was regarded here but truth; that no external objects might prevent justice, the tribunal was held in darkness; and the advocates were denied all attempts to work upon the passions of the judges. Superior to this, Solon instituted the great council of four hundred, who were to judge upon appeals from the Areopagus; and maturely to examine every question, before it came to be debated in a general assembly of the people.

29. Such was the reformation in the general institutions for the good of the state; his particular laws for dispensing justice were more numerous. In the first place, all persons, who in public dissensions and differences espoused neither party, but continued to act with a blameable neutrality, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual punishment, and to have all their estates confiscated.

30. Nothing could more induce mankind to a spirit of patriotism than this celebrated law. A mind, thus obliged to take part in public concerns, learns, from habit, to make those concerns its principal care, and self-interest quickly sinks before them. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man as an enemy that should appear indifferent and unconcerned in the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and general resource in every dangerous emergency.

31. He next permitted every particular person to espouse the quarrel of any one, that was injured or insulted. By this means, every person in the state became the enemy of him who did wrong; and the turbulent were thus overpowered by the number of their opponents.

32. He abolished the custom of giving portions in marriage with young women; unless they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value. It was his aim to prevent making matrimony a traffic; he considered it as an honourable connexion, calculated for the mutual happiness of both parties, and the general advantages of the state.

33. Before this lawgiver's time the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; but the wealth of the deceased naturally, and of course, devolved upon his children. Solon allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring, by that means, friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint. From this institution the bond between the parents and children became more solid and firm: it confirmed the just authority of the one, and increased the necessary dependence of the other.

34. He made a regulation to lessen the rewards to the victors at the Olympic and Isthmian games. He considered it as unjust, that a set of idle people, generally useless, often dangerous to the state, should be allotted those rewards which should go to the deserving. He wished to see those emoluments go to the widows and families of such as fell in the service of their country; and to make the stipend of the state honourable, by being conferred only on the brave.

35. To encourage industry, the Areopagus was charged with the care of examining into every man's method of living; and of chastising all who led an idle life. The unemployed were considered as a set of dangerous and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation, and hoping to amend their fortunes from the plunder of the state. To discountenance all idleness, therefore, a son was not obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had neglected giving him some trade or occupation. All illegitimate children were also exempted from the same duty, as they owed little to their parents, except an indelible reproach.

36. It was forbidden to give ill language in public; the magistrates, who were not eligible till thirty, were to be particularly circumspect in their behaviour; and it was even death for an archon to be taken drunk. It is observable that he made no law against parricide, as supposing it a crime that could never exist in any community.

37. With regard to women, he permitted any man to kill an adulterer, if he was taken in the fact. He allowed of public brothels; but prohibited mercenary prostitutes from keeping company with modest women; and, as a badge of distinction, to wear flowered garments. The men also, who were notorious for frequenting their company, were not allowed to speak in public; and he who forced a woman incurred a very heavy fine.

38. These were the chief institutions of this celebrated law-giver; and although neither so striking, nor yet so well authorised as those of Lycurgus, they did not fail to operate for several succeeding ages; and seemed to gather strength by observance. After he had framed these institutes, his next care was to give them such notoriety that none could plead ignorance.

39. To this end transcripts of them were hung up in the city for every one to peruse, while a set of magistrates, named thesmothetæ, were appointed to revise them carefully; and distinctly repeat them once a year. Then, in order to perpetuate the statutes, he engaged the people, by a public oath, to observe them religiously, at least for the term of an hundred years. And thus having completed the task assigned him, he withdrew from the city to avoid the importunity of some, and the captious petulance of others. For, as he well knew, it was hard if not impossible to please all.

40. Solon being thus employed on his travels in visiting Egypt, Lydia, and several other countries, left Athens to become habituated to his new institutions; and try by experience the wisdom of their reformation. But it was not easy for a city, long torn by civil dissensions, to yield implicit obedience to any

laws how wisely soever framed. Their former animosities began to revive, when the authority was removed, which alone could hold them in subjection.

41. The factions of the state were headed by three different leaders, who inflamed the animosity of the people against each other, hoping by the subversion of all order to indulge their own private hopes of aspiring. A person named Lycurgus, was at the head of the people that inhabited the low country; Pisistratus declared for those who lived in the mountains, and Megacles was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea coast.

42. Pisistratus was of these the most powerful. He was a well bred man; of a gentle and insinuating behaviour; ready to succour and assist the poor, whose cause he pretended to espouse. He was wise, and moderate to his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler, and was every way virtuous, except in his inordinate ambition. His ambition gave the appearance of possessing qualities which he really wanted; he seemed the most zealous champion for equality among the citizens, while he was actually meditating for a change. The giddy multitude, caught by these appearances, were zealous in seconding his views; and, without examining his motives, were driving headlong to tyranny and destruction.

43. It was just at the eve of success, and upon the point of being indulged in its utmost ambition, that Pisistratus had the mortification of seeing Solon return, after an absence of ten years, apprised of his designs, and willing to subvert his schemes. Sensible, therefore, of his danger, and conscious of the penetration of this great lawgiver, the aspiring demagogue used all his artifice to conceal all his real designs; and, while he flattered him in public, used every endeavour to bring over the people to second his interests.

44. Solon, at first, endeavoured to oppose art to his cunning; and to foil him at his own weapons. He praised him in his turn; and was heard to declare what might have been true; that, excepting the immoderate ambition of Pisistratus, he knew no man of greater or more exalted virtues. Still, however, he set himself to counteract his projects; and to defeat his designs, before they were ripe for execution.

45. But in a vicious commonwealth, no assiduity can warn, no wisdom protect. Pisistratus still urged his schemes with unabating ardour; and every day made new proselytes by his professions and his liberalities. At length, finding his schemes ripe for open action, he gave himself several wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in his chariot to the market-place; where by his com-

plaints and eloquence he so inflamed the populace, that they considered him as the victim of their cause; and as suffering such cruel treatment in their defence. An assembly of the people was, therefore, immediately convened, from whom he demanded a guard of fifty persons for his future security.

46. It was in vain that Solon used all his authority and eloquence to oppose so dangerous a request. He considered his sufferings as merely counterfeited. He compared him to Ulysses in Homer, who cut himself with similar designs: but he alleged, that he did not act the part right, for the design of Ulysses was to deceive his enemies; but that of Pisistratus was levelled against his friends and supporters. He upbraided the people with their stupidity, telling them that for his own part, he had sense enough to see through his design, but they only had strength enough to oppose it.

47. His exhortations, however, were vain, the party of Pisistratus prevailed; and a guard of fifty men was appointed to attend him. This was all he aimed at; for now having the protection of so many creatures of his own, nothing remained but insensibly to increase their number. Thus, every day, his hirelings were seen to augment, while the silent fear of the citizens increased in equal proportion. But it was now too late, for having raised the number to put him beyond the danger of a repulse, he at length seized upon the citadel, while none was left who had courage or conduct to oppose.

48. In this general consternation, which was the result of folly on the one hand, and treachery on the other, the whole city was one scene of tumult and disorder; some flying, others only complaining, others preparing for slavery with patient submission.

49. Solon was the only man, who, without fear or shrinking, deplored the folly of the times, and reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and treachery. "You might," said he, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud: but nothing now remains, but to pluck him up by the roots." As for himself, he had at least the satisfaction of having discharged his duty to his country and the laws; and, as for the rest, he had nothing to fear, and now upon the destruction of his country, his only confidence was in his great age, which gave him hopes of not being a long survivor. In fact, he did not survive the liberty of his country above two years: he died at Cyprus, in the eightieth year of his age, lamented and admired by every state of Greece.

50. Besides his skill in legislation, Solon was remarkable for several other shining qualifications. He understood eloquence in so high a degree, that from him Cicero dates the origin of eloquence in Athens. He was successful also in poetry; and

Plato asserts, that it was only for want of due application, that he did not come to dispute the prize with Homer himself.

51. The death of Solon only served to involve Athens in new troubles and commotions. Lycurgus and Megacles, the leaders of the two opposite factions, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of the city; but he was soon after recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

52. New disturbances arose. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself, for he had art to acquire power, and moderation to maintain it. The mildness of his government, and his implicit submission to the laws, made the people forget the means by which he acquired his power; and, caught by his lenity, they overlooked his usurpation. His gardens and pleasure grounds were free to all the citizens; and he is said to be the first who opened a public library at Athens.

53. Cicero is of opinion, that Pisistratus first made the Athenians acquainted with the books of Homer; that he disposed them in the order in which they now remain, and first caused them to be read at the feast called Panathænea. His justice is not less remarkable than his politeness.

54. Being accused of murder, though it was in the time of his tyranny, he went in person to plead his cause before the Areopagus, where his accuser would not venture to appear. In short, he was master of many excellent qualities; and perverted them no farther than as they stood in competition with empire. Nothing could be objected to him but his having greater power than the laws: but by not exerting that power, he almost reconciled the citizens to royalty. Upon these accounts he was deservedly opposed to usurpers of fewer virtues, and there seemed such a resemblance between him and a more successful invader of his country's freedom, that Julius Cæsar was called the Pisistratus of Rome.

55. Pisistratus, dying in tranquillity, transmitted the sovereign power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who seemed to inherit all their father's virtues. A passion for learning and its professors, had for some time prevailed in Athens; and this city, which had already far outgone all its contemporaries in all the arts of refinement, seemed to submit tamely to kings, who made learning their pride and their profession. Anacreon, Simonides, and others, were invited to their courts, and richly rewarded. Schools were instituted for the improvement of youth in the learned professions; and Mercuries were set up in all the highways, with moral sentences written upon them, for the instruction of the lowest vulgar. Their reign, however, lasted but eighteen years, and ended upon the following occasion.

56. Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship for each other; and resolved to revenge the injuries which should be committed against either, with common resentment. Hipparchus being naturally amorous, debauched the sister of Harmodius; and afterwards published her shame, as she was about to walk in one of the sacred processions; alleging, that she was not in a condition to assist at the ceremony.

57. Such a complicated indignity naturally excited the resentment of two friends, who formed a fixed resolution of destroying the tyrants, or falling in the attempt. Willing, however, to wait the most favourable opportunity, they deferred their purpose to the feast of the Panathænea, in which the ceremony required that all the citizens should attend in armour.

58. For their greater security, they admitted only a small number of their friends into the secret of their design; conceiving, that upon the first emotion they should not want for abettors. Thus resolved, the day being come, they went early into the market-place, each armed with a dagger, and stedfast to his purpose.

59. In the mean time, Hippias was seen issuing with his followers from the palace, to give orders, without the city, to the guards for the intended ceremony. As the two friends continued to follow him at a little distance, they perceived one of those to whom they had communicated the design, talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend their plot was betrayed.

60. Eager, therefore, to execute their designs, they were preparing to strike the blow, but recollected that the real aggressor would thus go unpunished. They once more, therefore, returned into the city, willing to begin their revenge upon the author of their indignities.

61. They were not long in quest of Hipparchus: they met him upon their return, and rushing upon him, despatched him with their daggers without delay; but were, soon after, themselves slain in the tumult. Hippias hearing of what was done, to prevent farther disorders, got all those disarmed whom he in the least suspected of being privy to the design; and then meditated revenge.

62. Among the friends of the late assertors of freedom, was one Leona, a courtesan, who, by the charms of her beauty, and her skill in playing on the harp, had captivated some of the conspirators, and was supposed to be deeply engaged in the design. As the tyrant, for such the late attempt had rendered him, was conscious that nothing was concealed from this wo-

man, he ordered her to be put to the torture, in order to extort the names of the accomplices. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with invincible constancy; and, lest she should in the agony of her pain be induced to a confession, she bit off her own tongue and spit it in the tyrant's face.

63. In this manner she died, faithful to the cause of liberty, showing the world a remarkable example of constancy in her sex. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to pass into oblivion. They erected a statue to her memory, in which a lioness was represented without a tongue.

64. In the mean time Hippias put no bounds to his indignation. A rebellious people ever makes a suspicious tyrant. Numbers of citizens were put to death; and to guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, he endeavoured to establish his power by foreign alliances. He gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus; he cultivated a correspondence with Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and he endeavoured to gain the friendship of the Lacedæmonians, who were at the time the most powerful people of Greece.

65. But he was supplanted in those very alliances from which he hoped the greatest assistance. The family of the Alcmaeonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been banished from Athens, endeavoured to undermine his interests at Sparta, and they at length succeeded. Being possessed of great riches; and also very liberal in their distribution, among other public services, they obtained liberty to rebuild the temple at Delphos, which they fronted in a most magnificent manner with Parian marble. So noble a munificence was not without a proper acknowledgment of gratitude from the priestess of Apollo, who, willing to oblige them, made her oracle the echo of their desires.

66. As there was nothing, therefore, which this family so ardently desired as the downfall of regal power in Athens, the priestess seconded their intentions; and whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, no promise was ever made of the gods' assistance but upon condition that Athens should be set free. This order was so often repeated by the oracle, that the Spartans at last resolved to obey. Their first attempts were, however, unsuccessful; the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss.

67. A second effort succeeded. Athens was besieged; and the children of Hippias were made prisoners, as they were secretly conveying them to a place of safety out of the city. To redeem these from slavery, the father was obliged to come to an accommodation, by which he consented to give up his preten-

sions to his sovereign power ; and to depart out of the Athenian territories in five days.

68. Thus, Athens was once more set free from its tyrants ; and obtained its liberty the very same year that the kings were expelled from Rome. The family of Alcæmon were chiefly instrumental ; but the people seemed fonder of acknowledging their obligations to the two friends who struck the first blow.

69. The names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were held in the highest respect in all succeeding ages ; and scarce considered inferior even to the gods themselves. Their statues were erected in the market-place, an honour which had never been rendered to any before ; and, gazing upon these, the people caught a love for freedom ; and a detestation for tyranny, which neither time nor terrors could ever after remove.

CHAPTER IV.

A short Survey of the State of Greece, previous to the Persian War.

1. HITHERTO we have seen the states of Greece in constant fluctuation ; different states rising, and others disappearing ; one petty people opposed to another, and both swallowed up by a third. Every city emerging from the ancient form of government, which was originally imposed upon it ; and, by degrees acquiring greater freedom. We have seen the introduction of written laws ; and the benefits they produced, by giving stability to government.

2. During these struggles for power among their neighbouring states, and for freedom at home, the moral sciences, the arts of eloquence, poetry, arms, were making a rapid progress among them : and those institutions which they originally borrowed from the Egyptians, were every day receiving signal improvements.

3. As Greece was now composed of several small republics bordering upon each other, and differing in their laws, characters, and customs, this was a continual source of emulation ; and every city was not only desirous of warlike superiority, but also of excelling in all the arts of peace and refinement. Hence, they were always under arms ; and continually exercised in war : while their philosophers and poets travelled from city to city ; and by their exhortations and songs, warmed them with a love of virtue, and with an ardour of military glory.

4. These peaceful and military accomplishments raised them

to their highest pitch of grandeur, and they now only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to show the world their superiority. The Persian monarchy, the greatest at that time in the world, soon offered itself as their opponent; and the contest ended with its total subversion.

5. But as Greece was continually changing not only its government, but its customs; as in one century it presented a very different picture from what it offered in the preceding, it will be necessary to take a second view of this confederacy of little republics, previous to their contests with Persia: as by comparing their strength with that of their opponent, we shall find how much wisdom, discipline and valour, are superior to numbers, wealth and ostentation.

6. Foremost in this confederacy we may reckon the city of Athens, commanding the little state of Attica, their whole dominions scarce exceeding the largest of our English counties in circumference. But what was wanting in extent was made up by the citizens being inured to war and impressed with the highest ideas of their own superiority.

7. Their orators, their philosophers, and their poets, had already given lessons of politeness to mankind; and their generals, though engaged only in petty conflicts with their neighbours, had begun to practise new stratagems in war. There were three kinds of inhabitants in Athens: citizens, strangers, and servants. Their number usually amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and from forty to three-score thousand servants.

8. A citizen could only be such by birth, or adoption. To be a natural citizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both Athenians, and both free. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers: and those whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens.

9. The quality of a citizen of Athens was sometimes granted, in honour and gratitude, to those who merited well of the state, as to Hippocrates the physician: and even kings sometimes canvassed that title for themselves and their children. When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath, and in virtue of this they became members of the state.

10. Strangers, or foreigners, who came to settle at Athens, for the sake of commerce, or of exercising any trade, had no share in government, nor votes in the assemblies of the people. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen; and, upon the account, were obliged to render him certain duties and

services. They paid a yearly tribute to the state of twelve drachmas; and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale.

11. Of servants, there were some free, and others slaves, who had been taken in war, or bought of such as trafficked in them. The Athenians were as remarkable for their lenity to these unhappy men, as the Spartans were noted for their fierceness and rigidity. There was even an asylum for slaves where the bones of Theseus had been interred; and that asylum subsisted for near two thousand years.

12. When slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they might bring their masters to justice: who, if the fact were sufficiently proved, were obliged to sell them to another master. They could even ransom themselves against their master's consent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpose; for, out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves; and made a stock of it at their own disposal.

13. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave them their liberty; and when the necessity of the times obliged the state to make their greatest levies, they were enrolled among the troops; and from thence were ever after free.

14. The revenues of this city, according to Aristophanes, amounted to two thousand talents, or about three hundred thousand pounds sterling. They were generally gathered from the taxes upon agriculture; the sale of woods; the produce of mines; the contributions paid them by their allies; a capitulation levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, and from fines laid upon different misdemeanors.

15. The application of these revenues was in paying the troops, both by land and sea; building and fitting out fleets; keeping up and repairing public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But in the decline of the republic, the greatest part was consumed in frivolous expenses, games, feasts, and shows, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

16. But the greatest glory of Athens, was its being the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poetry, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics, began there, and came almost to their utmost perfection. The young people were sent first to learn grammar, under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon the principles of their own language.

17. Eloquence was studied with still greater attention, as in that popular government it opened the way to the highest employments. To the study of rhetoric was annexed that of phi-

losophy, which comprised all the sciences; and in these there were many masters, very conversant, but, as is common, their vanity still greater than their pretensions.

18. All the subordinate states of Greece seemed to make Athens the object of their imitation; and though inferior to it upon the whole, yet each produced great scholars, and remarkable warriors in its turn. Sparta alone took example from no other state; but still rigorously attached to the institutions of its great lawgiver Lycurgus, it disdained all the arts of peace; which, while they polished, served to enervate the mind; and, formed only for war, they looked forward to campaigns and battles, as scenes of rest and tranquillity.

19. All the laws of Sparta, and all the institutions of Lycurgus, seemed to have no other object than war; all other employments, arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, and even husbandry itself, were prohibited amongst them.

20. The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two sorts, either those who inhabited the city of Sparta, and, who for that reason were called Spartans, and those who inhabited the country dependent thereon. In the times of Lycurgus the Spartans amounted to nine thousand men; the countrymen to thirty thousand. This number was rather diminished than increased in succeeding times; but it still composed a formidable body, that often gave laws to the rest of Greece.

21. The Spartan soldiers, properly so called, were considered as the flower of the nation; and we may judge of their estimation by the anxiety the republic expressed, when three hundred of them were once taken prisoners by the Athenians.

22. But notwithstanding the great valour of the Spartan state, it was formed rather for a defensive than an offensive war. They were always careful to spare the troops of their country; and, as they had very little money, were not in a capacity to send their armies upon distant expeditions.

23. The armies, both of Sparta and Athens, were composed of four sorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The greatest number of troops in the two republics were composed of allies, who were paid by the cities who sent them. Those which received pay from their employers, were styled mercenaries. The number of slaves attending on every army was very great; and the Helotes in particular were employed as light infantry.

24. The Greek infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers; the one heavy armed, and carrying great shields, spears, and scimitars; the other light armed, carrying javelins, bows, and slings. These were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon

the wings, to shoot their arrows, or fling their javelins and stones at the enemy, and then retire through the intervals behind the ranks, to dart out occasionally upon the retiring enemy.

25. The Athenians were pretty much strangers to cavalry; and the Lacedæmonians did not begin the use till after the war with Messæna. They raised their horse principally in a small city, not far from Lacedæmon, called Sciros; and they were always placed on the extremity of the left wing, which post they claimed as their rightful station.

26. But to recompense this defect of cavalry, the Athenians, in naval affairs, had a great superiority over all the states of Greece. As they had an extensive sea coast, and as the profession of a merchant was held reputable among them; their navy increased; and was at length sufficiently powerful to intimidate the fleets of Persia.

27. Such were the two states, that in some measure engrossed all the power of Greece to themselves; and though several petty kingdoms still held their governments in independence, yet they owed their safety to the mutual jealousy of these powerful rivals; and always found shelter from the one against the oppressions of the other. Indeed, the dissimilarity of their habits, manners, and education, served as well to divide these two states, as their political ambition.

28. The Lacedæmonians were severe, and seemed to have something almost brutal in their character. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers haughtily sullen and untractable.

29. The Athenians were, naturally, obliging and agreeable, cheerful among each other, and humane to their inferiors; but they were restless, unequal, timorous friends, and capricious protectors.

30. From hence, neither republic could sufficiently win over the smaller states of Greece to their interests; and although their ambition would not suffer the country to remain in repose, yet their obvious defects were always a bar to the spreading of their dominion. Thus the mutual jealousy of these states kept them both in constant readiness for war, while their common defects kept the lesser states independent.

CHAPTER V.

From the Expulsion of Hippias to the Death of Darius.

1. It was in this disposition of Athens and Sparta, and of the lesser states, their neighbours, that the Persian monarchy began to interest itself in their disputes; and made itself an

umpire in their contentions for liberty, only to seize upon the liberties of all. It has been already related, that Hippias being besieged in Athens, and his children being taken prisoners; in order to release them, he consented to abdicate the sovereign power, and to leave the dominion of Athens in five days. Athens, however, in recovering its liberty, did not enjoy that tranquillity, which freedom is thought to bestow.

2. Two of the principal citizens, Calisthenes, a favourite of the people, and Isagoras, who was supported by the rich, began to contend for that power which they had, but a little before, joined in depressing. The former, who was become very popular, made an alteration in the form of their establishment; and, instead of four tribes, whereof they before consisted, enlarged their numbers to ten.

3. He also instituted the manner of giving votes by Ostracism, as it was called. The manner of performing this, was for every citizen, not under sixty years old, to give in a name written upon a tile, or oystershell, (from whence the method of voting had its name) and he upon whom the majority fell, was pronounced banished for ten years. These laws, evidently calculated to increase the power of the people, were so displeasing to Isagoras, that, rather than submit, he had recourse to Cleomenes king of Sparta, who undertook to espouse his quarrel. In fact, the Lacedæmonians only wanted a favourable pretext for lessening and destroying the power of Athens, which, in consequence of the command of the oracle, they had so lately rescued from tyranny.

4. Cleomenes, therefore, availing himself of the divided state of the city, entered Athens, and procured the banishment of Calisthenes, with seven hundred families more, who had sided with him in the late commotions. Not content with this, he endeavoured to new model the state; but being strongly opposed by the senate, he seized upon the citadel, from whence, however, in two days he was obliged to retire. Calisthenes perceiving the enemy withdrawn, returned with his followers; and finding it vain to make any further attempts for power, restored the government as settled by Solon.

5. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians repenting the services they had rendered their rival state, and perceiving the imposture of the oracle, by which they were thus impelled to act against their own interests, began to think of reinstating Hippias on the throne. But previous to their attempt, they judged it prudent to consult the subordinate states of Greece, and to see what hopes they had of their concurrence and approbation. Nothing, however, could be more mortifying than the universal

detestation with which their proposal was received by the deputies of the states of Greece.

6. The deputy of Corinth expressed the utmost indignation at the design; and seemed astonished that the Spartans, who were the avowed enemy of tyrants, should thus espouse the interests of one noted for cruelty and usurpation. The rest of the states warmly seconded his sentiments, and the Lacedæmonians, covered with confusion and remorse, abandoned Hippias and his cause for ever after.

7. Hippias, being thus frustrated in his hopes of exciting the Greeks to second his pretensions, was resolved to have recourse to one who was considered as a much more powerful patron. Wherefore, taking his leave of the Spartans, he applied himself to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every art to engage in a war against Athens.

8. He represented to him the divided state of the city; he enlarged upon its riches, and the happiness of its situation for trade: he added the ease with which it might be taken, and the glory that would attend success. Influenced by these motives, the pride and the avarice of the Persian court were inflamed, and nothing was so ardently sought as the pretext of a dispute with the Athenians. When, therefore, that city sent to the Persian court to vindicate their proceedings, alleging that Hippias deserved no countenance from so great a people; the answer returned was, *That if the Athenians would be safe they must admit Hippias for their king.*

9. Athens having so lately thrown off the yoke, had too lively a sense of its past calamities to accept safety upon such base conditions: and resolved to suffer to the last extremity, rather than open their gates to a tyrant. When Artaphernes, therefore, demanded the restoration of Hippias, the Athenians boldly returned him a downright and absolute refusal. From this arose the war between Greece and Persia, one of the most glorious and the most remarkable that ever graced the annals of kingdoms.

10. But there were more causes than one tending to make a breach between these powerful nations, and producing an irreconcilable aversion for each other. The Greek colonies of Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, that were settled for above five hundred years in Asia Minor, were at length subdued by Croesus, king of Lydia; and he in turn, sinking under the power of Cyrus, his conquests of course fell in with the rest of his dominions.

11. The Persian monarch, thus possessed of a vast extensive territory, placed governors over the several cities that were thus subdued; and as men bred up in a despotic court, were likely enough to imitate the example set them at home, it is proba-

ble enough they abused their power. Be this as it may, in all the Greek cities they were called tyrants; and as these little states had not yet lost all idea of freedom, they took every opportunity to recover their liberty, and made many bold, but unsuccessful struggles in that glorious cause. The Ionians particularly, who bore the greatest sway among them, let no occasion slip which promised the smallest hopes of shaking off the Persian yoke.

12. That which favoured their designs upon the present occasion, was the expedition of Darius into Scythia, into which country he sent a numerous army, laying a bridge over the river Ister for that purpose. The Ionians were appointed to guard this important pass; but were advised by Miltiades, whom we shall afterwards find performing nobler exploits, to break down the bridge, and thus cut off the Persian retreat. The Ionians, however, rejected his counsel; and Darius returned with his army into Europe, where he added Thrace and Macedon to the number of his conquests.

13. Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, and the person who opposed the advice of Miltiades, being of an ambitious and intriguing disposition, was willing to lessen the merit of all his contemporaries, in order to enhance his own: but he was deceived in his expectations of success: from these schemes Darius, justly suspecting his fidelity, took him with him to Susa, under pretence of using his friendship and advice, but in reality of preventing his future machinations at home. But Histiaeus saw too clearly the cause of his detention, which he regarded as a specious imprisonment: and therefore took every opportunity of secretly exciting the Ionians to a revolt, hoping that himself might, one day, be sent to bring them to reason.

14. Aristagoras was at that time statesman's deputy at Miletus, and received the instructions of his master to stir up the Ionian cities to revolt with the utmost alacrity. In fact, from a late failure of this general upon Naxos, his credit was ruined at the Persian court; and no alternative remained for him, but to comply with the advice of Histiaeus in stirring up a revolt; and of trying to place himself at the head of a new confederacy.

15. The first step Aristagoras took to engage the affections of the Ionians, was to throw up his power in Miletus, where he was deputy, and to reinstate that little place in all its former freedom. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his credit, and perhaps his menaces, he induced every other governor to imitate his example.

16. They all complied the more cheerfully, as the Persian power, since the check it had received in Scythia, was the less able to punish their revolt, or to protect them in their continued attachment. Having thus united all these little states by the

consciousness of one common offence, he then threw off the mask, declaring himself at the head of the confederacy, and bid defiance to the power of Persia.

17. To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour, he went, in the beginning of the following year, to Lacedæmon, in order to engage that state in his interests; and engage it in war with a power, that seemed every day to threaten the general liberty of Greece. Cleomenes was at that time king of Sparta, and to him Aristagoras applied for assistance, in what he represented as the common cause.

18. He represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that it would be for the honour of Sparta to concur with him in the design he had formed for restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians were enervated by luxury; that their riches would serve to reward the conquerors, while nothing was so easy as their overthrow. Considering the present spirit of the Ionians, it would not be difficult, he said, for the victorious Spartans to carry their arms even to the gates of Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire; and thus give laws to those who presumed to call themselves the sovereigns of the world.

19. Cleomenes desired time to consider this proposal; and being bred up in Spartan ignorance, demanded how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa? Aristagoras, without considering the tendency of the question, answered, that it might be a journey of three months. Cleomenes made no answer, but turning his back upon so great an adventurer, gave orders that before sunset he should quit the city. Still, however, Aristagoras followed him to his house; and finding the inefficacy of his eloquence, tried what his offers of wealth could do.

20. He at first offered him ten talents; he then raised the sum to fifteen; and it is unknown what effect such a large sum might have had upon the Spartan, had not his daughter, a child of nine years old, who was accidentally present at the proposal, cried out, *Fly father, or this stranger will corrupt you.* This advice, given in the moment of suspense, prevailed: Cleomenes refused his bribes; and Aristagoras went to sue at other cities, where eloquence was more honoured, and wealth more alluring.

21. Athens was a city where he expected a more favourable reception. Nothing could be more fortunate for his interests than his arrival at the very time they had received the peremptory message from the Persians to admit their tyrant, or to fear the consequences of their disobedience. The Athenians were, at that time, all in an uproar; and the proposal of Aristagoras met with the most favourable reception. It was much easier to impose

upon a multitude than a single person, the whole body of citizens engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist his designs; and to these, the Eretrians and Eubæans added five more.

22. Aristagoras, thus supplied, resolved to act with vigour; and having collected all his forces together, set sail for Ephesus: where leaving his fleet, he entered the Persian frontiers, and marched by land to Sardis, the capital city of Lydia. Artaphernes, who resided there as the Persian viceroy, finding the city untenable, resolved to secure himself in the citadel, which he knew could not easily be forced. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently very combustible, one of the houses being set on fire by an Ionian soldier, the flames quickly spread to all the rest. Thus the whole town was quickly reduced to ashes, and numbers of the inhabitants slain.

23. But the Persians were soon avenged for this unnecessary cruelty; for, either recovering themselves from their former panic, or being reinforced by the Lydians, they charged the Ionians in a body, and drove them back with great slaughter. Nor was the pursuit discontinued even as far as Ephesus; where the vanquished and the victors arriving together, a great carnage ensued; and but a small part of the routed army escaped, which took shelter aboard the fleet, or in the neighbouring cities. Other defeats followed after this.

24. The Athenians, intimidated with such a commencement of ill success, could not be persuaded to continue the war. The Cyprians were obliged once more to submit to the Persian yoke. The Ionians lost more of their towns one after the other; and Aristagoras flying into Thrace, was cut off by the inhabitants with all his forces.

25. In the mean time, Histæus, who was the original cause of all these misfortunes, finding that he began to be suspected in Persia, left that court, under a pretence of going to quell those troubles which he had all along secretly fomented: but his duplicity of conduct rendered him now suspicious to either party. Artaphernes, the Persian viceroy, plainly accused him of treachery; while his own Milesians refused to admit him as their master.

26. Thus wavering, uncertain, and not knowing where to turn, having picked up a few scattered remains of the routed armies, he fell in with Harpagus, one of the Persian generals, who routed his forces, and made Histæus himself a prisoner. Being sent to Artaphernes, that inhuman commander immediately caused him to be crucified; and ordered his head to be sent to Darius, who received the present with that disgust which evinced his superior humanity. He wept over it with a friendly sorrow; and ordered that it should receive honourable interment.

27. In the mean time, the affairs of the Ionian confederacy every day became more desperate. The Persian generals finding that Miletus was the city which they chiefly depended on; resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that having carried that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians having intelligence of this design, determined in a general assembly, to make no opposition by land, where the Persians were too powerful; but to fortify Miletus, and exert all their efforts by sea, where they hoped for the advantage from their superior skill in naval evolutions.

28. They accordingly assembled a fleet of three hundred ships, at a little island over against Miletus, and on the superiority of this fleet they placed their whole reliance. But the Persian gold effected what their arms were unable to compass. Their emissaries having secretly debauched the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert, when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country. Thus the remaining part of the fleet, which did not amount to more than an hundred ships, was quickly overpowered, and almost totally destroyed.

29. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and was easily taken. All the other cities, as well on the continent as among the islands, were forced to return to their duty. Those who continued obstinate, were treated with great severity. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace, and the young women were all sent into Persia.

30. Thus ended the revolt of the Ionians, which continued six years from its first breaking out under Aristagoras; and this was the third time the Ionians were obliged to undergo the yoke of foreign dominion; for they inherited a natural love of freedom, which all the Greeks were known to possess.

31. The Persians having thus subdued the greatest part of Asia Minor, began to look towards Europe, as offering conquests worthy their ambition. The assistance given the Ionians by the Athenian fleet, and the refusal of that state to admit Hippias as their king; the taking of Sardis, and the contempt they testified for the Persian power, were all sufficient motives for exciting the resentment of that empire; and for marking out all Greece for destruction.

32. Darius, therefore, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young nobleman who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia; and particularly to revenge the burning of Sardis. This was an offence which that monarch seemed

peculiarly to resent ; and from the time of that conflagration, he had given orders for one of his attendants, every time he sat down to table, to cry out, *Remember the Athenians*.

33. Mardonius, willing to second his master's animosity, quickly passed into Thrace at the head of a large army, and so terrified the inhabitants of that country, that they yielded implicit obedience to his power. From thence he set sail for Macedonia ; but his fleet attempting to double the cape of Mount Athos in order to gain the coasts of that country, they were attacked by so violent a tempest, that upwards of three hundred ships were sunk, and above twenty thousand men perished in the sea.

34. His land army, that took the longest way about, met, at the same time, with equal distresses ; for being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked them by night, and made a great slaughter among the enemy. Mardonius himself was wounded, and finding his army unable to maintain the field, returned to the Persian court covered with grief and confusion, having miscarried both by sea and land.

35. But the ill success of one or two campaigns was not sufficient to abate the resentment, or the ardour of the king of Persia. Possessed as he was of resources almost inexhaustible, wealth without end, and armies that seemed to increase from defeat, he only grew more determined from every repulse, and doubled his preparations in proportion to his former failures. He now perceived, that the youth and inexperience of Mardonius were unequal to so great an undertaking : he therefore displaced him, and appointed two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the son of him who was late governor of Sardis, in his stead.

36. His thoughts were earnestly bent on attacking Greece with all his forces ; he wished to take a signal revenge upon Athens, which he considered as the principal cause of the late revolt in Ionia : besides Hippias was still near him to warm his ambition, and keep his resentment alive. Greece, he said, was now an object for such a conqueror ; the world had long beheld it with an eye of admiration ; and if not soon humbled, it might in time supplant even Persia in the homage of the world.

37. Thus excited by every motive of ambition and revenge, Darius resolved to bend all his attention to a war with Greece. He had, in the beginning of his reign, sent spies with one Democedes, a Greek physician, as their conductor, to bring him information with respect to the strength and situation of all the states of Greece. This secret deputation failed ; he was, therefore, willing once more to send them under the character of heralds, to denounce his resentment ; and at the same time to learn how the different states of the country stood affected towards him.

38. The form used by the Persians, when they expected submission from lesser states, was to demand earth and water in the monarch's name : and such as refused were to be considered as opposers of the Persian power. On the arrival, therefore, of the heralds amongst the Greeks, many of the cities, dreading the Persian power, complied with their demands. The Æginetans, with some of the islands also, yielded a ready submission; and almost all, but Athens and Sparta, were contented to exchange their liberties for safety.

39. But these two noble republics bravely disdained to acknowledge the Persian power; they had felt the benefits of freedom; and were resolved to maintain it to the last. Instead, therefore, of offering up earth and water, as was demanded, they threw the heralds, the one into a well, the other into a ditch; and adding mockery to insult, desired them to take earth and water from thence. This they probably did to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; and to leave no safety but in perseverance and despair.

40. Nor were the Athenians content with this outrage: but resolved also to punish the Æginetans, who by a base submission to the Persian power had betrayed the common cause of Greece. They accordingly represented the affair to the Spartans with all its aggravating circumstances, and heightened with that eloquence for which they were famous. Before such judges it was not likely that cowardice or timidity would find many defenders: the Spartans immediately gave judgment against the people of Ægina, and sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of so base a concession.

41. The people of Ægina, however, refused to deliver them, under pretence that Cleomenes came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself secretly furnished them with that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus, for thus counteracting the demands of his country, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family. In fact, Demaratus was born only seven months after marriage, and this was supposed by many to be a sufficient proof of his bastardy.

42. This accusation, therefore, being revived, the Pythian oracle was appointed to determine the controversy, and the priestess being privately suborned by Cleomenes, an answer was given against his colleagues just as he had dictated. Demaratus thus being declared illegitimate, and unable to endure so gross an injury, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with great friendship, and gave him a considerable settlement in Persia.

43. He was succeeded in the throne by Leotychides, who concurring with the views of Cleomenes, punished the Æginetans by placing ten of the most guilty citizens in the hands of the Athenians: while Cleomenes, some time after, being detected of having suborned the priestess, slew himself in a fit of despair.

44. On the other hand, the Æginetans complained of the severity of their treatment; but finding no likelihood of redress, they resolved to obtain that justice by force, which was refused to their supplications. Accordingly they intercepted an Athenian ship, which in pursuance of an annual custom ever since the times of Theseus, was going to Delos to offer sacrifice. This produced a naval war between these two states: in which, after a variety of fortunes, the Æginetans was worsted, and the Athenians possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the seas.

45. Thus these civil discords, which seemed at first to favour the designs of the common enemy, turned out to the general advantage of Greece. For the Athenians, thus acquiring great power at sea, were put in a capacity of facing the Persian fleets, and of cutting off those supplies which were continually carrying to their armies on land.

46. In the mean time, the preparations on both sides for a general war, were carried on with the greatest animosity and despatch. Darius sent away his generals, Datis and Aftaphernes, whom he had appointed in the room of Mardonius, to what he supposed a certain conquest. They were furnished with a fleet of six hundred ships, and an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men; their instructions were to give up Athens and Eretria, a little city which had joined in the league against him, to be plundered; to burn all the houses and temples of both, and to lead away all the inhabitants into slavery. The country was to be laid desolate, and the army was provided with a sufficient supply of chains and fetters for binding the conquered nations.

47. To oppose this formidable invasion, the Athenians had only their courage, their animosity, their dread of slavery, their discipline, and about ten thousand men. Their civil commotions with the other states of Greece, had given them a spirit of war and stratagem, while the genius of their citizens, continually excited and exercised, was arrived at its highest pitch, and fitted them for every danger.

48. Athens had long been refining in all those arts which qualify a state to extend, or to enjoy conquest; every citizen was a statesman and a general, and every soldier considered himself as one of the bulwarks of his country. But in this little state, from whence first flowed all those improvements that have since adorned and civilized society, there were at that time three

men who were considered as superior to all the rest; all remarkable for their abilities in war, and their integrity in peace; for those qualifications that can advance the glory of states, or procure the happiness of the individual.

49. Of these, Miltiades, as being the most experienced, was at that time the most known. He was the son of Cimon, and nephew of Miltiades, an illustrious Athenian, who accepted the government of Doloncy, a people of the Thracian Chersonesus. Old Miltiades dying without issue, he was succeeded in his government by Stesagoras, his nephew, and he also dying, young Miltiades was chosen as his successor.

50. He was appointed to that government the same year that Darius undertook his unsuccessful expedition against the Scythians. He was obliged to attend that prince as far as the Isthmus with what shipping he was able to supply; but, ever eager to throw off the Persian yoke, it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and leave the army of Darius to its fate.

51. When the affairs of the continent began to decline, Miltiades, rather than live in dependence, resolved to return once more to Athens; and thither he returned with five ships, which were all that remained of his shattered fortune.

52. At the same time, two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides, and Themistocles. These were of very different dispositions; but from this difference resulted the greatest advantage to their country.

53. Themistocles was naturally inclined to a popular government, and omitted nothing that could render him agreeable to the people, or gain him friends. His complaisance was boundless, and his desire to oblige sometimes outstepped the bounds of duty. His partiality was often conspicuous. Somebody talking with him, once on the subject, told him he would make an excellent magistrate if he had more impartiality: *God forbid,* replied he, *that I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more favour than strangers.*

54. Aristides was as remarkable for his justice and integrity. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, he was friendly, but never at the expense of justice. In seeking honours, he ever declined the interest of his friends, lest they should, in turn, demand his interest when his duty was to be impartial.

55. The love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions, and with that in view, no difficulties could daunt him, no success or elevation exalt. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness of temper, being persuaded that he was entirely his country's, and very little his own. One day when an

actor was repeating some lines from *Æschylus* on the stage, coming to a passage which described a man as not desiring to appear honest, but to be so, the whole audience cast their eyes on *Aristides*, and applied the passage. In the administration of public offices, his whole aim was to perform his duty without any thought of enriching himself.

56. Such were the characters of the illustrious Athenians that led the councils of the state, when *Darius* turned his arms against Greece. These inspired their fellow citizens with a noble confidence in the justice of their cause; and made all the preparations against the coming invasion, that prudence and deliberate valour could suggest.

57. In the mean time, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* led on their numerous forces towards Europe; and after having made themselves masters of the islands in the *Ægean* sea without any opposition, they turned their course towards *Eretria*, that city which had formerly assisted the *Ionians* in their revolt.

58. The *Eretrians*, now driven to the last extremity, saw no hopes of meeting their enemy in the field, wherefore they sent back four thousand men that the *Athenians* had supplied them with, and resolved patiently to stand a siege. For six days the *Persians* attempted to storm the city, and were repulsed with loss; but on the seventh, the city, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants, being betrayed into their hands, they entered, plundered, and burned it.

59. The inhabitants were put in chains, and sent as the fruits of the war to the *Persian* monarch; but he, contrary to their expectations, treated them with great lenity; and gave them a village in the country of *Cissa* for their residence, where *Apollonius Tyanæus* found their descendants six hundred years after.

60. After such splendid success at *Eretria*, nothing now remained but the apparently easy conquest of Greece. *Hippias*, the expelled tyrant of Athens, still accompanied the *Persian* army; and led them by the safest marches into the heart of the country; at length, flushed with victory, and certain of success, he conducted them to the plains of *Marathon*, a fertile valley but ten miles distant from Athens. From thence they sent to summon the citizens, acquainting them with the fate of *Eretria*, and informing them that not a single inhabitant had escaped their vengeance.

61. But the *Athenians* were not to be intimidated by any vicinity of danger. They had sent, indeed, to *Sparta* to implore succour against the common enemy, which was granted without deliberation; but the superstition of the times rendered their as-

sistance ineffectual; for it was an established law among the Spartans, not to begin a march before the full moon.

62. They applied also to other states, but they were too much awed by the power of Persia to move in their defence. An army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, exulting in the midst of their country, was too formidable for a weak and jealous confederacy to oppose. The inhabitants of Platea alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers, and they were left to find all other assistance in their courage and their despair.

63. In this extremity they were obliged to arm their slaves for the safety of all, and their forces, thus united, amounted to but ten thousand men. Hoping, therefore, to derive from their discipline what they wanted in power, they placed their whole army under the conduct of ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief; and of these, each was to have the command of the troops day about in regular succession.

64. An arrangement, in itself so unpromising, was still more embarrassed, by the generals themselves disputing whether they should hazard a battle, or wait the approach of the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion seemed for awhile to prevail; it was urged that it would be rashness itself to face so powerful and well appointed an army with a handful of men.

65. It was alleged that the soldiers would gather courage from their security behind the walls, and that the forces of Sparta without, might make a diversion in case of a sally from within. Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and desperate intrepidity.

66. Aristides also strenuously embraced this opinion, and exerted all his masculine eloquence to bring over the rest. The question being put, when the suffrages came to be taken, the opinions were equal on either side of the argument. It now, therefore, remained with Callimachus, the polemarch, who had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders, to give his opinion, and decide this important debate.

67. It was to him Miltiades addressed himself with the utmost earnestness, alleging that the fate of his country was now in his power; that his single vote was to determine whether his country should be enslaved or free; that his fame might now by a single word, be made equal to that of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were the authors of Athenian liberty.

68. Thus exhorted, Callimachus did not long debate, but gave his voice in favour of an open engagement; and Miltiades,

thus seconded, prepared to marshal up his little army for the great encounter.

69. In the mean time, it appeared that so many leaders commanding in succession, only served to perplex and counteract each other. Aristides perceived that the command, which changes every day, must be incapable of projecting or executing any uniform design; he therefore gave it as his opinion that it was necessary to invest the whole power in one single person, and to induce his colleagues to conform, he himself set the first example of resignation.

70. When the day came on which it was his turn to command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general; while the other commanders, warmed by so generous a preference, followed his example.

71. Miltiades, thus vested in the supreme command, which was now the post of highest danger, like an experienced general, endeavoured by the advantage of his ground, to make up his deficiency in strength and numbers. He was sensible that by extending his front to oppose the enemy, he must weaken it too much, and give their dense body the advantage.

72. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so that the enemy should not surround him or charge him in the rear. On the flanks on each side, he caused large trees to be thrown down, which were cut down for the purpose, and these served to guard him from the Persian cavalry, that generally wheeled on the flanks in the height of an engagement.

73. Datis, on his side, was sensible of this advantageous disposition; but relying on his superiority of numbers, and unwilling to wait till the Spartan reinforcements should arrive, he determined to engage. And now was to be fought the first great battle which the Greeks had ever engaged in. It was not like any of their former civil contests, arising from jealousy, and terminating in an easy accommodation: it was a battle that was to be decided with the greatest monarch of the earth, with the most numerous army that had been hitherto seen in Europe.

74. This was an engagement that was to decide the liberty of Greece; and what was infinitely of greater moment, the future progress of refinement among mankind. Upon the event of this battle depended the complexion which the manners of the west were hereafter to assume; whether they were to adopt Asiatic customs with their conquerors, or to go on in modelling themselves upon Grecian refinements, as was afterwards the case. This, therefore, may be considered as one of the most important battles that ever was fought; and the event was as little to be expected as the success was glorious.

75. The signal was no sooner given, than the Athenians, without waiting the Persian onset, rushed in upon their ranks with desperate rapidity, as if wholly regardless of safety. The Persians regarded this first step of the Athenians as the result of madness, and were more inclined to despise them as maniacs, than oppose them as soldiers—However, they were quickly undeceived.

76. It had never before been the custom of the Greeks to run on with this headlong valour; but comparing the number of their own forces with that of the enemy, and expecting safety alone from rashness, they determined to break through the enemy's ranks or fall in the attempt. The greatness of their danger added to their courage, and despair did the rest.

77. The Persians, however, stood their ground with great intrepidity, and the battle was long, fierce, and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; for having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous army, he supposed the victory could be obtained by no other means than strengthening his flanks, not doubting but when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to wheel upon the enemy's main body on either side, and thus put them easily to the rout.

78. The Persians, therefore, finding the main body weakest, attacked it with their utmost vigour. It was in vain that Aristides and Themistocles, who were stationed in this post of danger, endeavoured to keep their troops to the charge. Courage and intrepidity were unable to resist the torrent of increasing numbers, so that they were at last obliged to give ground. But, in the mean time, the wings were victorious: and now, just as the main body were fainting under the unequal encounter, these came up, and gave them time to recover their strength and order.

79. Thus the scale of victory quickly began to turn in their favour; and the Persians, from being the aggressors, now began to give ground in turn, and being unsupported with fresh forces, they fled to their ships with the utmost precipitation. The confusion and disorder was now universal; the Athenians followed them to the beach, and set many of their ships on fire.

80. On this occasion it was, that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, seized with his hand one of the ships that the enemy was pushing off from the shore. The Persians within, seeing themselves thus arrested, cut off his right hand that held the prow: he then laid hold of it with his left, which they also cut off; at last he seized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.

81. Seven of the enemy's ships were taken, above six thou-

sand Persians were slain, without reckoning those who were drowned in the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those who were consumed when the ships were set on fire.

82. Of the Greeks, not above two hundred men were killed, among whom was Callimachus, who gave his vote for bringing on the engagement. Hippias, who was the chief incendiary of the war, is also thought to have fallen in this battle, though some say he escaped, and died miserably at Lemnos.

83. Such was the famous battle at Marathon, which the Persians were so sure of gaining, that they had brought marble into the field, in order to erect a trophy there. Just after the battle, an Athenian soldier, whose name was Eucles, still covered all over with blood and wounds, quitted the army, and ran to Athens, to carry his fellow-citizens the news of the victory. His strength just sufficed to reach the city; and throwing himself into the door of the first house he came to, he uttered three words, *Rejoice, we triumph*, and instantly expired.

84. While a part of the army marched forward to Athens to protect it from the attempts of the enemy, Aristides remained upon the field of battle, to guard the spoil and the prisoners; and although gold and silver were scattered about the enemy's deserted camp in abundance, though their tents and galleys were full of rich furniture and sumptuous apparel, he would not permit any of it to be embezzled, but reserved it as a common reward for all who had any share in obtaining the victory.

85. Two thousand Spartans also, whose laws would not permit them to march until the full of the moon, now came into the field; but the action being over the day before, they only had an opportunity of paying due honours to those who gained so glorious a victory, and to bring back the news to Sparta. Of the marble the Persians had brought with them, the Athenians made a trophy, being carved by Phidias into a statue, in honour of the goddess Nemesis, who had a temple near the field of battle.

86. In the mean time, the Persian fleet, instead of sailing directly back to Asia, made an attempt to surprise Athens, before the Greek forces could arrive from Marathon. But the latter had the precaution to move directly thither; and performed their march with so much expedition, that though it was forty miles from Marathon, they arrived there in one day. In this manner the Greeks not only expelled their enemies, but confirmed their security.

87. By this victory, the Grecians were taught to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name. This taught them through the whole of succeeding ages to imitate their ancestors with an ardent emulation, and in-

spired them with a wish of not degenerating from the Grecian glory.

88. Those Athenians that were slain in battle, had all the honour immediately paid them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them in the very place where the battle was fought, upon which their names, and the tribe to which they belonged, were inscribed. There were three distinct sets of monuments set up; one for the Athenians, one for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves who had been enrolled into their troops upon that urgent occasion.

89. But their gratitude to Miltiades spoke a nobleness of mind, that far surpassed expensive triumphs, or base adulation. Sensible that his merits were too great for money to repay, they caused a picture to be painted by Polygnotus, one of the most celebrated artists, where Miltiades was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. This picture was preserved for many ages, with other paintings of the best masters, in the Portico, where Zeno afterwards instituted his school of philosophy.

90. An emulation seemed to take place in every rank of life; Polygnotus valued himself so much upon the honour of being appointed to paint this picture, that he gave his labour A. M. for nothing. In return for such generosity, the Amphictyons appointed him a public lodging in the city where he might reside during pleasure.

91. But though the gratitude of the Athenians to Miltiades was very sincere, yet it was of no long continuance. This fickle and jealous people, naturally capricious, and now more than ever careful of preserving their freedom, were willing to take every opportunity of mortifying a general, from whose merit they had much to fear.

92. Being appointed with seventy ships to punish those islands that had favoured the Persian invasion; and having raised the siege of Paros, upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet; he returned, unsuccessfully to Athens, where he was accused, by one Xantippus, of having taken a bribe from Persia. As he was not in a condition to answer this charge, being confined to his bed by a fall he received at Paros, the accusation took place against him, and he was condemned to lose his life.

93. The manner of executing criminals found guilty of great offences, was by throwing them into the Barathrum, a deep pit, from whence none were ever seen to return. This sentence was pronounced against him; but his former services were such as to have this punishment commuted into a penalty of fifty talents,

the sum which it had cost the state in fitting out the late unsuccessful expedition.

94. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was thrown into prison, where the bruise on his thigh growing worse, from bad air and confinement, it turned at last to a gangrene, and put an end to his life and misfortunes.

95. Cimon, his son, who was at that time very young, signalised his piety on this occasion. As this ungrateful city would not permit the body of Miltiades to be buried until all his debts were paid, this young man employed all his interest among his friends, and strained his utmost credit to pay the fine, and procure his father's body an honourable interment.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Death of Miltiades to the Retreat of Xerxes out of Greece.

1. THE misfortunes of Darius only served to increase his resentment, and give spirit to his perseverance. Finding the ill success of his generals, he resolved to try the war in person : and despatched orders throughout his whole dominions for fresh preparations.

2. However, a revolt in Egypt for a while averted his resentment ; a contest among his sons about nominating his successor, still farther retarded his designs ; and at last, when he had surmounted every obstacle, and was just preparing to take a signal vengeance, his death put an end to all his projects, and gave Greece a longer time for preparation.

3. Xerxes, his son, succeeded, who, with the empire, inherited also his father's animosity against Greece. Having carried on a successful expedition against Egypt, he expected the same good fortune in Europe. Confident of victory, he did not choose, he said, for the future to buy the figs of Attica ; he would possess himself of the country, and thus have figs of his own.

4. But, before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and collect the opinions of the principal officers of his court. In his speech at opening the council he evidently showed his desire of revenge, and his passion for military glory.

5. The best way, therefore, to pay court to this young monarch, was by flattering him in his favourite pursuits, and giving his impetuous aims the air of studied designs. Mardonius, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his own bad success,

began by extolling Xerxes above all other kings that had gone before ; he urged the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name ; he represented the Greeks as cowards, that were accidentally successful, and was firmly of opinion, that they would never more stand even the hazard of a battle.

6. A discourse that so nearly coincided with his own sentiments, was very pleasing to the young monarch ; and the rest of the company, by their looks and their silence, seemed to applaud his impetuosity. But Artabanus, the king's uncle, who had long learned to reverence courage, even in an enemy, and presuming upon his age and experience to speak his real sentiments, rose with an honest freedom to represent the intended expedition in its true light.

7. " Permit me, Sir," said he, " to deliver my sentiments upon this occasion with a liberty suitable to my age and your interest. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than they. If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army commanded by Darius and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from an opposition of all the states of Greece united ?

8. " You design to pass from Asia into Europe by laying a bridge over the sea. But what if the Athenians should advance and destroy this bridge, and so prevent our return ? Let us not expose ourselves to such dangers, as we have no sufficient motives to compel us to face them ; at least let us take time to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon this affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have nothing to regret. Precipitation is imprudent, and is usually unsuccessful.

9. " Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the splendour of imaginary glory. The highest and the most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. God loves to humble the ostentatious, and reserves to himself alone the pride of importance. As for you, Mardonius, who so earnestly urge this expedition, if it must be so, lead it forward. But let the king, whose life is dear to us all, return back to Persia.

10. " In the mean time let your children and mine be given up as a pledge to answer for the success of the war. If the issue be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death ; but if it prove otherwise, as I well foresee, then I desire that you and your children may meet the reward of rashness."

11. This advice, which was rather sincere than palatable, was

received by Xerxes with a degree of rage and resentment. "Thank the gods," cried he, "that thou art my father's brother; were it not for that, thou shouldst this moment meet the just reward of thy audacious behaviour. But you shall have your punishment; remain here behind among the women; these, you but too much resemble in your cowardice and fear. Stay here while I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory calls me."

12. Upon cooler thoughts, however, Xerxes seemed better reconciled to his uncle's opinion. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that were given him, he confessed the rashness of his former rebuke; and ingenuously ascribed it to heat of youth, and the ardour of passion. He offered to come over to his opinion, at the same time assuring the council, that from his dreams he had every encouragement to proceed with this expedition.

13. So much condescension on the one hand, and such favourable omens on the other, determined the whole council to second his inclinations. They fell prostrate before him, eager to show their submission and their joy. A monarch thus surrounded by flatterers, all striving which should most gratify his pride and passions, could not long continue good, though naturally inclined to virtue.

14. Xerxes, therefore, seems a character thus ruined by power, exerting his natural justice and wisdom at short intervals; but then giving way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. Thus the council of Artabanus being rejected, and that of Mardonius favourably received, the most extensive preparations were made for carrying on the war.

15. The greatness of these preparations seemed to show the high sense which the Persians had of their enemy. Xerxes, that he might omit nothing conducive to success, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were, at that time the most potent people of the West; with whom it was stipulated, that while the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should awe the Greek colonies, dispersed over the Mediterranean, from coming to their assistance.

16. Thus having drained all the East to compose his own army, and the West to supply that of the Carthaginians A. M. under Amilcar, he set out from Susa, in order to enter § 523. upon this war, ten years after the battle of Marathon.

17. Sardis was the place where the various nations that were compelled to his banner were to assemble. His fleet was to advance along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

But in doubling the cape of Mount Athos, many shipwrecks were sustained; he was resolved to cut a passage through that neck of land which joined the mountain to the continent, and thus give his shipping a shorter and safer passage.

18. This canal was a mile and a half long, and hollowed out from a high mountain; it required immense labour to perform so great a work, but his numbers and his ambition were sufficient to surmount all difficulties.

19. To urge on the undertaking the faster, he treated his labourers with the greatest severity, while, with all the ostentation of an eastern prince, he gave his commands to the mountain to sink before him:—*Athos, thou proud aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, be not so audacious as to put obstacles in my way. If thou givest them that opposition, I will cut thee level to the plain, and throw thee headlong into the sea.*

20. As this monarch passed on, in his march to the place of general destination, he went through Cappadocia, crossed the river Halys, and came to Calene, a city of Phrygia, near the source of the river Meander. He was there met by Pythias, a Lydian prince, who, by the most extreme parsimony and oppression, had become, next to Xerxes, the most opulent man in all the Persian empire. His treasures, however, were not sufficient to buy off the attendance of his eldest son, whom he requested might be permitted to remain with him, as he was old and helpless.

21. He had before offered his money, which amounted to about four millions sterling, for the monarch's use; but this Xerxes had refused, and now, finding the young prince willing to remain with his father, he was so enraged that he commanded him to be put to death before his father's eyes. Then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part of it to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, to terrify them from a reluctance to engage, by his example.

22. From Phrygia, Xerxes marched to Sardis, and, in the opening of spring, directed his march down towards the Hellespont, where his fleet lay in all its pomp, expecting his arrival. Here being arrived, he was desirous of taking a survey of all his forces, which composed an army which was never equalled either before or since. It was composed of the most powerful nations of the East, and of people scarce known to posterity except by name.

23. The remotest India contributed its supplies, while the coldest tracts of Scythia sent their assistance. Medes, Persians,

Bactrians, Lydians, Assyrians, Hyrcanians, and a hundred other countries of various forms, complexions, languages, dresses, and armies. The land army, which he brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and four score thousand horse. Three hundred thousand more that were added, upon crossing the Hellespont, made all his land forces together amount to above two millions of men.

24. His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, each carrying two hundred men. The Europeans augmented his fleet with a hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men. Besides these, there were two thousand smaller vessels, fitted for carrying provisions and stores; the men contained in these, with the former, amounted to six hundred thousand, so that the whole army might be said to amount to two millions and a half, which, with the women, slaves, and sutlers, always accompanying a Persian army, might make the whole above five millions of souls; a number, if rightly conducted, capable of overturning the greatest monarchy, but being commanded by presumption and ignorance, they only served to obstruct and embarrass each other.

25. Lord of so many and such various subjects, Xerxes found a pleasure in reviewing his forces, and was desirous of beholding a naval engagement, of which he had not hitherto been a spectator. To this end, a throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that situation, beholding all the earth covered with his troops, and all the sea crowded with his vessels, he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his frame, from the consciousness of his own superior power.

26. But all the workings of this monarch's mind were in extreme, a sudden sadness took place of his pleasure; and dissolving in a shower of tears, he gave himself up to a reflection that not one of so many thousand would be alive a hundred years after.

27. Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of moralising upon every occurrence, took this occasion to discourse with him upon the shortness and miseries of human life. Finding this more distant subject attended to, he spoke more closely to the present occasion, insinuated his doubts of the success of the expedition; urged the many inconveniences the army had to suffer, if not from the enemy, at least from their own numbers. He alleged, that plagues, famines, and confusion, were the necessary attendants of such ungovernable multitudes by land, and that empty fame was the only reward of success.

28. But it was now too late to turn this young monarch from his purpose. Xerxes informed this monitor, that great actions were always attended with proportional danger; and that if his

predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of conduct, the Persian empire would never have attained to its present height of glory.

29. Xerxes, in the mean time, had given orders for building a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, for the transporting his army into Europe. This narrow strait, which now goes by the name of the Dardanelles, is near an English mile over. But soon after the completion of this work, a violent storm arising, the whole was broken and destroyed, and the labour was to be undertaken anew.

30. The fury of Xerxes upon this disappointment, was attended with equal extravagance and cruelty. His vengeance knew no bounds; the workmen who had undertaken the task, had their heads struck off by his order; and that the sea itself also might know its duty, he ordered it to be lashed as a delinquent, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, to curb its future irregularities.

31. Thus having given vent to his absurd resentment, two bridges were ordered to be built in the place of the former; one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. The workmen, now warned by the fate of their predecessors, undertook to give their labours greater stability; they placed three hundred and sixty vessels across the strait, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a piece. They then cast anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix these vessels against the violence of the winds and the current. They then drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables which went over each of the two bridges. Over all these they laid trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use; and flat boats again over them, fastened and joined together, so as to serve for a floor or solid bottom.

32. When the whole work was thus completed, a day was appointed for their passing over; and as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly scattered over the new work, and the way was strewed with myrtle.

33. At the same time, Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the east, worshipped that bright luminary which is the god of the Persians. Then throwing the vessel which had held his libation into the sea, together with a golden cup and Persian scimitar, he went forward and gave orders for the army to follow.

34. This immense train were no less than seven days and seven nights passing over, while those who were appointed to

conduct the march, quickened the troops by lashing them along; for the soldiers of the East, at that time and to this very day, are treated like slaves.

35. Thus this immense army having landed in Europe, and being joined by the several nations that acknowledged the Persian power, Xerxes prepared for marching directly forward into Greece. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective countries, the land army was commanded by six Persian generals, to whom all the rest were subordinate. These were Mardonius, Tirintatechmus, Sinerdonius, Massistus, Gergis, and Megabyzus. Ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes, while the cavalry and the fleet had their own respective commanders.

36. Besides those who were attached to Xerxes from principle, there were some Greek princes, who, either from motives of interest or fear, followed him in this expedition. Among these were, Artemisia, queen of Hallicarnassus, who, after the death of her husband, governed the kingdom for her son. She had brought, indeed, but a trifling succour of five ships, but she made ample amends by her superior prudence, courage, and conduct.

37. Of this number also was Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, who, resenting the indignity put upon him by his subjects, took refuge in the Persian court, an indignant spectator of its luxuries and slavish submission. Being one day asked by Xerxes, if he thought the Grecians would dare to wait his approach, or would venture an engagement with armies that drank up whole rivers in their march. "Alas! great prince," cried Demaratus, "Greece, from the beginning of time, has been trained up and accustomed to poverty; but the defects of that are amply recompensed by virtue, which wisdom cultivates, and the laws support in vigour. As for the Lacedæmonians, as they have been bred up in freedom, they can never submit to be slaves.

38. "Though all the rest of the Greeks should forsake them, though they should be reduced to a band of a thousand men, yet still they would face every danger to preserve what they hold dearer than life. They have laws which they obey with more implicit reverence than you are obeyed by your subjects. By these laws they are forbid to fly in battle, and they have only the alternative to conquer or to die."

39. Xerxes was not offended with the liberty of Demaratus; but smiling at his blunt sincerity, ordered his army to march forward, while he had directed his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their course by his motions.

40. In this manner he pursued his course without any inter-

ruption, every nation near which he approached sending him all the marks of homage and subjection. Wherever he came, he found provisions and refreshments prepared before hand, pursuant to the orders he had given. Every city he arrived at, exhausted itself in giving him the most magnificent reception.

41. The vast expense of these feasts gave the poor Thracian an opportunity of remarking, that it was a peculiar favour of the gods, that Xerxes could eat but one meal a day. Thus did he continue his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every knee bending before him, till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ, where he first found an army prepared to dispute his passage.

42. This army was a body of Spartans, led on by Leonidas their king, who had been sent thither to oppose him. As soon as it was known in Greece that Xerxes was preparing to invade that country, and that an army of millions were coming on with determined resolution to ruin it, every state seemed differently affected in proportion to its strength, its courage, or its situation.

43. The Sicilians refused their aid, being kept in awe by Amilcar, the Carthagenian. The Corcyreans pretended they were wind-bound, and would not let their ships stir from the harbour. The Cretans, having consulted the Delphic oracle, absolutely determined to remain inactive. The Thessalians and Macedonians, from their situation, were obliged to submit to the conqueror, so that no states were found bold enough to face this formidable army but Athens and Lacedæmon.

44. These states had received intelligence of the Persian designs from Demaratus, long before they had been put into execution. They had also sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of the enemy's forces. The spies, indeed, were seized, but Xerxes ordered them to be conducted through his army, and to give an exact account of what they had seen at their return.

45. They had sent deputies to all the neighbouring states to awaken their ardour; to apprise them of their danger, and to urge the necessity of fighting for their common safety. But all their remonstrances were vain: fear, assuming the name of prudence, offered frivolous excuses, or terms which were inadmissible.

46. Relying therefore on their own strength, these generous states resolved to face the danger with joint forces, and conquer or fall in the cause of freedom. Having summoned a general council at the isthmus, they there solemnly resolved to waive all private quarrels or pretensions, and join against the common danger.

47. One cannot, without astonishment reflect on the intre-

pidity of the Greeks, who determined to face the innumerable army of Xerxes with such disproportioned forces. All their forces joined together amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men. But they were all soldiers, bred amidst fatigue and danger, all determined to a man either to conquer or die.

48. Their first care, however, was to appoint a general. It was then that the most able and experienced captains, terrified at the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. Epicydes, indeed, a man of ignorance, avarice, and presumption, was ready to lead them on, and under his guidance, nothing could be hoped for but confusion and disappointment.

49. In this pressing juncture, therefore, Themistocles, conscious of his own capacity, and warmed with the love of glory, which was great in proportion to danger, resolved to use every art to get himself appointed to the command. For this purpose he used all his interest, and even distributed bribes to remove his competitor, and having gratified the avarice of Epicydes, which was his ruling passion, he soon found himself appointed to the command, which was the darling object of his ambition.

50. But in this pressing exigence, it was incumbent on the Athenians to avail themselves of every person that might be serviceable, however obnoxious he might appear to their resentment. There were many useful citizens whom they had, on some factious discontents, sent into banishment, and these they now repentingly wished to restore.

51. Among this number was Aristides, that brave and just man, who had, at the battle of Marathon, and upon other occasions, been instrumental in gaining their victories, and who had, upon all occasions, improved them by the disinterestedness and integrity of his example. This magistrate having had many contests with Themistocles, who was his rival in power and fame, and always wished to supplant him, was at length condemned to go into banishment by the power of the prevailing faction.

52. It was on that occasion that a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides personally, applied to himself, and desired him to write the name of Aristides upon the shell by which his vote was given against him. "Has he done you any wrong," said Aristides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the peasant, "*but I hate to hear him praised for his justice.*" Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote down his own name upon it, and contentedly retired into banishment.

53. But the present distresses of his country were now an ob-

ject that strongly solicited his return. Even Themistocles, his rival was so far from remembering his old resentments, that he now ardently desired the assistance of his counsel; and gave up all his private resentments to the good of the state. The hatred of these great men had nothing in it of that bitter and implacable spirit which prevailed among the Romans, in the latter times of the republic; or perhaps the desperate situation of their country might only occupy their thoughts at that time.

54. But the preparations by land alone were not sufficient to repel the growing danger. If the Greeks had trusted to their land armies without further succour, they must have been undone. Themistocles, who saw that the victory of Marathon must be followed by many more, before safety could be ascertained, had prudently caused a hundred galleys to be built; and turned all his thoughts to give Athens a superiority at sea.

55. The oracle had declared, some time before, that Athens should only defend herself with wooden walls; and he took the advantage of that ambiguity to persuade his countrymen, that by such walls was meant only her shipping. He had the address to procure some money annually coming in from silver mines, which the Athenians had in their district, to the purposes of equipping and manning this fleet; and now, upon the approach of Xerxes, the confederates found themselves at the head of a very powerful squadron of two hundred and eighty sail; the command of which was conferred upon Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian.

56. All measures being taken that this brave confederacy could devise, it next remained to settle in what place they should first meet the Persians in the field, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were most exposed, and first liable to be attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable that their security should be the first object of attention.

57. The Greeks, willing to protect all who would declare in their quarrel, in pursuance of this request, resolved to send their chief force to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, representing that post as untenable, they were obliged to change their measures; and at last resolved to send a body of men to guard the pass at Thermopylæ, where a few were capable of acting against numbers.

58. Thermopylæ was a narrow pass of twenty-five feet broad, between Thessaly and Phocis, defended by the remains of a wall, with gates to it, formerly built by the Phocians, to secure them against the incursions of their neighbouring enemy.

From these gates and some hot baths, which were at the entrance into the pass, the strait had its name. This was pitched upon, as well for the narrowness of the way as for its vicinity to the sea, from whence the land forces could occasionally receive assistance from the fleet.

59. The command of this important pass was given to Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of six thousand men. Of these, three hundred were Spartans, the rest, consisting of Bœotians, Corinthians, Phocians, and Arcadians, all such as in the present exigency were prepared for the field, and were not afraid of the numbers of the enemy. Each of these had particular commanders of their own, but Leonidas had the conduct of the whole.

60. But though the determined resolution of these troops was incapable of being shaken, little was expected from the nature of their destination. They were all along taught to look upon themselves as a forlorn hope, only placed there to check the progress of the enemy, and give them a foretaste of the desperate valour of Greece; nor were even oracles wanting to check their ardour.

61. It had been declared, that to procure the safety of Greece, it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Hercules, should die. This task was cheerfully undertaken by Leonidas; and as he marched out from Lacedæmon, he considered himself as a willing victim offered up for the good of his country: however, he joyfully put himself at the head of his little band; took possession of his post, and with deliberate desperation waited at Thermopylæ for the coming up of the Persian army.

62. Xerxes, in the mean time, approaching with his numerous army, flushed with success, and confident of victory. His camp exhibited all the marks of Eastern magnificence and Asiatic luxury. He expected to meet no obstruction on his way to Greece: he led on his forces rather to terrify the enemy than to fight them; great, therefore, was his surprise, to find that a few desperate men were determined to dispute his passage.

63. He had all along flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe what Demaratus had assured him, that at the first pass he came to, his whole army would be put to a stand. He, himself, took a view of their camp and entrenchments.

64. The Lacedæmonians were some of them calmly amusing themselves with military exercises, others were combing their long hair. He inquired the reason of this conduct, and he was informed, that it was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle. Still, however, entertaining some hopes of

their flight, he waited four days to give them time to reflect on the greatness of their danger, but they still continued gay and unconcerned, as men who regarded death as the end of labour.

65. He sent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas, with truly Spartan contempt, desired him to *come and take them*. He offered, if they would lay down their arms, to receive them as friends, and to give them a country much larger and better than what they fought for. No country, they replied, was worth acceptance, unless won by virtue; and that for their arms, they should want them, whether as his friends or enemies.

66. Upon this, the monarch addressed himself to Demaratus, asking if these desperate men could expect to outrun his horses? Demaratus answered, that they would fight it out to the last, and not a man of them would survive his country's freedom. Some men were heard to say that the Persians were so numerous that their darts would darken the sun. Diences, a Spartan, replied, "Then we shall fight in the shade."

67. Xerxes, thus treated with contempt, at length ordered a body of Medes to advance; desiring such as had lost any of their relations at the battle of Marathon, to take their revenge upon the present occasion. Accordingly they began the onset, but were repulsed with great loss. The number of the assailants only served to increase their confusion; and it now began to appear that Xerxes had many followers, but few soldiers.

68. These forces being routed by the Grecian troops, the Persian immortal band was brought up, consisting of ten thousand men, to oppose them. But these were as unsuccessful as the former. The charge was renewed the next day, Xerxes endeavouring to inspire his troops with the promises of reward, since he found they were dead to the sense of shame. But though their charge was violent, it was unsupported; and the Greeks, standing closely connected in a body, withstood the shock, and filled the way with Persian carcasses.

69. During these unsuccessful assaults, Xerxes was a spectator, sitting upon his throne, placed upon an eminence, and directing the order of battle, impetuous in his pride and resentment, and now and then seen to leap from his seat when he beheld his troops in confusion, or offering to give way.

70. Thus did the Greeks keep their ground for two days, and no power on earth seemed capable of removing them from their advantageous station. Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force a passage, appeared under the greatest consternation; but he was relieved from his embarrassment by the appearance of Epialtes, a Trachinian, who had deserted from the enemy, and undertook to show his troops a secret path that led through the

defiles of the mountains, and through which a body of forces might be led to fall upon the Grecians in the rear.

71. He quickly, therefore, despatched a body of twenty thousand men thither, who, marching all night, arrived at the break of day at the top of the mountain, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

72. The Greeks were soon apprised of this misfortune, and Leonidas seeing that his post was no longer tenable, advised the troops of his allies to retire, and reserve themselves for better times, and the future safety of Greece. As for himself and his fellow Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly; that he owed a life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defence.

73. Thus having dismissed all but his three hundred Spartans, with some Thespians and Thebans, in all not a thousand men, he exhorted his followers in the most cheerful manner to prepare for death. "Come, my fellow-soldiers," says he, "*let us dine cheerfully here, for to-night we shall sup with Pluto.*"

74. His men, upon hearing his determined purpose, set up a loud shout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and resolved every man to sell his life as dearly as he could. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the most glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy's camp, where the silence would favour desperation, and hide the smallness of their numbers.

75. Thus resolved, they made directly for the Persian tents, and, in the darkness of the night, had almost reached the royal pavilion, with hopes of surprising the king. The obscurity added much to the horror of the scene, and the Persians falling upon each other without distinction, rather assisted the Grecians than defended themselves. Thus, success seemed to crown the rashness of their enterprise, until the morning beginning to dawn, the light discovered the smallness of their numbers.

76. They were soon, therefore, surrounded by the Persian forces, who, fearing to fall in upon them, flung their javelins from every quarter; till the Greeks, not so much conquered, as tired with conquering, fell amidst heaps of the slaughtered enemy; leaving behind them an example of intrepidity never known before. Leonidas was one of the first that fell; and the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. It was found after the battle, buried under a mountain of the dead, and was nailed to a cross, by way of infamy, by the brutal victor.

77. Of all the train, two only escaped, whose names were Aristodemus and Panites. The latter, upon his return to Sparta,

was branded with infamy, and treated with such contempt, that he killed himself. Aristodemus reserved himself for another occasion : and by his bravery at the battle of Platae, recovered that honour which he had lost. Some time after this transaction, the Amphictyons ordered a magnificent monument to be erected over these brave defenders of their country, and Simonides, the poet, wrote their epitaph.

78. Xerxes, in the battle, is said to have lost twenty thousand men, among whom were two of his brothers. But to conceal the greatness of his loss from the army, he caused all but a thousand of those that were slain, to be buried in holes indiscriminately ; however, his stratagem had very bad success, for when the soldiers of the fleet were curious some time after, in taking a survey of the field of battle, they discovered the artifice ; and urged it as an act of flagrant impiety against him.

79. Dismayed at an obstinacy in the enemy that cost him so dear, Xerxes was for some time more inclined to try his fortune at sea, than to proceed immediately into the country, where he had learned from Demaratus that eight thousand Spartans, such as he had but lately fought with, were ready to receive him.

80. Accordingly, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ, there was an engagement at sea between the two fleets. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. That of the enemy had lately lost four hundred vessels in a shipwreck, but was still greatly superior to the fleet of the Grecians.

81. To repair this loss by a victory, two hundred Persian vessels had orders to take a compass, and surprise the Grecians lying in the straits of Eubœa ; but the Grecians being apprised of their designs, set sail by night, and so, by a counter surprise, fell in with them, while they were thus separated from their main squadron ; took and sunk thirty, forced the rest to sea ; and there, by stress of weather, they were all soon after either sunk or stranded.

82. Enraged at these disappointments, the Persians bore down the next day with their whole fleet, and drawing it up in form of a half moon, made an offer of battle, which the Greeks as readily accepted. The Athenians having been reinforced with three and fifty sail, the battle was very obstinate and bloody, and the success near equal on both sides ; so that both parties seemed content to retire in good order.

83. All these actions, which passed near Artemisia, though at that time indecisive, yet served not a little to animate and inspire the Athenians, who were now taught to think that there was nothing either formidable in the numbers, or useful in the size of the Persian ships. Thus strengthening themselves with

the hopes of more splendid engagements, they sailed away from Artemisia, and stopped at Salamis, where they might most conveniently assist the Athenians.

84. In the mean time, Xerxes having entered with his numerous army into the country of Phocis, burning and plundering every town through which he passed, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were naturally defended by their inaccessible situation, as their country was joined to the continent only by a neck of land, thought it the most prudent way to defend the isthmus by a wall, to take shelter behind that rampart, and to leave the rest of Greece to the mercy of the conqueror.

85. The Athenians, however, whose country lay without the isthmus, remonstrated loudly against this desertion, and endeavoured to persuade the Greeks to face the enemy in the plain. But prudence prevailed, and Themistocles gave them to understand that though their country should be for a while overrun by the invader, yet they had still their wooden walls to rely on, for their fleet was ready to transport them to such of their settlements as they thought proper.

86. At first, however, this advice was the most hateful that could be imagined. The people thought themselves inevitably lost, if they should once abandon the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their ancestors. But Themistocles, using all his eloquence and address to work upon their passions, represented to them that Athens did not consist either of its walls or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the true preservation of the state.

87. A decree, therefore, was passed, by which it was ordained, that Athens for a while should be given up in trust to the gods, and that all the inhabitants, whether in freedom or slavery, should embark on board the fleet.

88. In this calamitous desertion, Cimon, though very young, was seen encouraging the citizens by his words and example. Bearing in his hands a part of his horse's furniture, he went to offer it as now useless in the temple of Minerva, and then going down to the water side, was the first that cheerfully went on board. When he was followed by the rest of the city, so moving and melancholy a sight drew tears even from the most obdurate.

89. A brave, generous, polite and ancient people, now forced from their native seats to undergo all the vicissitudes and dangers of the sea, to implore a retreat from foreign states, and give up their native lands to the spoiler, was a most moving spectacle. Yet the steadiness and courage of some, and the pious resignation of all, demanded the utmost admiration.

90. The young and adventurous embarked for Salamis, the old, the women, and children, took shelter at the city of Trezene, the inhabitants of which generously offered them an asylum. They even allowed them a maintenance at the expense of the public; permitted their children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and appointed masters for their instruction.

91. But in this general desertion, that which extremely raised the compassion of all, was the great numbers of old men they were obliged to leave in the city, on account of their age and infirmities. Many also voluntarily remained behind, believing that the citadel which they had fortified with wooden ramparts, was what the oracle pointed out for general security.

92. To heighten this scene of general distress, the matrons were seen clinging with fond affection to the places in which they had so long resided; the wives filled the streets with loud lamentations, and even poor domestic animals seemed to take a part in the general concern.

93. It was impossible to see these poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going on ship-board, without being strongly affected. Among these, the faithfulness of a particular dog is recorded, who jumped into the sea after his master, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel till he landed at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the shore.

94. Those few inhabitants that remained behind, retired into the citadel, where, literally interpreting the oracle, they fortified it as well as they could, and patiently waited the invader's approach.

95. Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march, he was told that the Grecians were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia. It was not without indignation that he found his power so little able to terrify his enemies, or interrupt their amusements.

96. Having sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, with the rest he marched down into Attica, where he found Athens deserted of all but a few in the citadel. These men despairing of succour, and unwilling to survive the loss of their country, would listen to no terms of accommodation: they boldly withstood the first assault, and, warmed by the enthusiasm of religion, began to hope for success. But a second assault carried their feeble out-works, they were all put to the sword, and the citadel reduced to ashes.

97. Flushed with this success, Xerxes immediately despatched a messenger to Susa with the news of his victories; and, at the same time, sent a number of pictures and statues, among which were those of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

98. In the mean time, the confedrate Greeks summoned a council of war to consult upon the proper manner and place of opposing this barbarous inundation. With respect to the operation by land, it was universally determined to defend the isthmus by a wall, and Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas, was appointed to command that station; but as to the operations at sea, these were not so generally agreed on. Euribyades, the Spartan, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, was for having it in advance near the isthmus, that it might co-operate with the army on land; but Themistocles was entirely of another opinion, and asserted, that it would be the most manifest error to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamis, where they were then stationed.

99. They were now, he said, in possession of the narrow seas, where the number of the enemy could never avail them; that the only hope now left the Athenians was their fleet, and that this must not be capriciously given up by ignorance to the enemy.

100. Euribyades, who considered himself as glanced at, could not contain his resentment, but offered to strike Themistocles for his insolence. *Strike me*, cried the Athenian, *strike me, but hear me*. His moderation and his reason prevailed; the generals were reconciled to each other, and the result of the council was, that they should prepare to receive the Persians on the isthmus by land, and in the straits of Salamis by sea.

101. Mean while Xerxes, after having demolished and burnt Athens, marched down towards the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which he had determined should once more come to an engagement with that of the enemy. This was what Themistocles most ardently desired in his present situation; but he was fearful his confederates would not have courage to abide the encounter. Their thoughts were still bent upon sailing towards the isthmus, and assisting their army in case of distress.

102. Themistocles, therefore, in this exigence, was obliged to have recourse to one of those stratagems which mark superiority of genius; he contrived to let Xerxes privately understand that the confederates were now assembled at Salamis, preparing for flight, and that it would be an easy task to attack and destroy them. This information was attended with the desired success. Xerxes gave orders to his fleet to surround Salamis by night, in order to prevent an escape which he so much dreaded.

103. In this manner the Grecian fleet was blocked up, and no safety remained but in intrepidity and conquest. Even Themistocles himself was not apprised of the situation of his own forces and that of the enemy; all the narrow straits were block-

ed up, and the rest of the Persian fleet was sent for, to make every passage impracticable.

104. In this exigence, Aristides, in whose bosom the love of his country always prevailed over every private revenge, was resolved to venture all, in order to apprise Themistocles of his situation and danger. He was then at Egina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger ventured in a small boat through all the fleet of the enemies by night.

105. Upon landing, he made up to the tent of Themistocles, and addressed him in the following manner: "If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall henceforth lay aside those vain and puerile dissensions which have hitherto separated us. One strife, and a noble emulation it is, now remains for us, which of us shall be most serviceable to our country. It is yours to command as a general, it is mine to obey as a subject, and happy shall I be, if my advice can any way contribute to your and my country's glory."

106. He then informed him of the fleet's real situation, and warmly exhorted him to give battle without delay. Themistocles felt all the generous gratitude which so disinterested a conduct demanded; and, eager to show a new return of noble friendship, let him into all his projects and aims, particularly this last, of suffering himself to be surrounded. After this, they used their joint authority with the other commanders to persuade them to engage; and accordingly both fleets prepared themselves for battle.

107. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty ships; the Persian fleet was much more numerous. But whatever advantage they had in numbers, and the size of their shipping, they fell infinitely short of the Greeks in their naval skill, and their acquaintance with the seas where they fought; but it was particularly in their commander that the Greeks had the advantage.

108. Euribyades had nominally the conduct of the fleet; but Themistocles in reality conducted all their operations. Nothing escaped his vigilance; and he knew how to improve every incident to the greatest advantage. He, therefore, deferred the onset until a wind, which at that time of the year was periodical, and which he knew would be favourable, set in. As soon as this arose, the signal was given for battle; and the Grecian fleet sailed forward in exact order.

109. Xerxes imputing his former ill success at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be a witness of the present engagement from the top of a promontory; where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This served, in some measure, to animate his forces, who, conscious of their king's observance, re-

solved to merit his applause. The Persians, therefore, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as struck the enemy with terror; but their ardour abated when the engagement became closer.

110. The numerous disadvantages of their circumstances and situation then began to appear. The wind blew directly in their faces; the height and heaviness of their vessels rendered them unwieldy and useless; even the number of their ships in the narrow sea where they fought, only served to embarrass them and increase their confusion.

111. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had implored, by characters engraven along the rocks of their coast, to remember from whence they derived their original, were the first who betook themselves to flight. In the other wing the contest was for some time doubtful; until the Phœnicians and Cyprians being driven on shore, the rest retired in great disorder, and fell foul of each other in their retreat.

112. In this total defection, Artemisia alone seemed to stop the progress of victory; and, at the head of her five ships, performed incredible acts of valour. Xerxes, who was a spectator of her conduct, could not help crying out that his soldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like soldiers.

113. As this queen, from her signal intrepidity, was become very obnoxious to the Athenians, a price had been set on her head: sensible of which, as she was on the point of falling into their hands, by a lucky turn of thought, she pretended to desert from her own party, and to fall foul of one of their ships: the Greeks thus concluding, that she either belonged to them, or was a deserter, permitted her to escape.

114. In the mean time, the confederates pursued the Persian fleet on every side; some were intercepted at the straits of Attica; many were sunk, and more taken. Above two hundred were burnt; all the rest were dispersed; and the allies, dreading the resentment of the Greeks, as well as of the Persian king, made the best of their way to their own country.

115. Such was the success of the battle of Salamis, in which the Persians had received a severer blow than they had ever hitherto experienced from Greece. Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, was, or pretended to be so elated, as to propose breaking down the bridge by which Xerxes had made his way into Europe. Whether Themistocles was really sincere in the proposal, remains a doubt, but Aristides used all his powers to persuade his coadjutor from such an undertaking.

116. He represented to him the danger of reducing so powerful an enemy to desperation, and asserted that it was his wish to be relieved from such an intruder with all possible despatch.

Themistocles at once acquiesced in his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge.

117. The situation of Xerxes was such, that the smallest repulse was sufficient to wean him from his darling expedition. Astonished at the late overthrow, and alarmed at this new information, he only wanted a decent opportunity to retreat, when Mardonius came conveniently to extricate him from his embarrassments. He began by extenuating the late loss, and the many expedients that remained to relieve their situation; he laid all the blame of their defeat upon the cowardice of the auxiliaries, and their insincere attachment to his kingdom.

118. Lest the fame of his ill success, which always represents things worse than they are, should occasion any commotions in his absence, he engaged, if he would leave him three hundred thousand of his choice troops, to subdue all Greece with glory. On the other hand, if the event proved otherwise, he would take all the blame of miscarriage, and suffer in person, if it were to retrieve the honour of his master.

119. This advice was very well received by Xerxes, who, thinking enough had been given to glory, when he had made himself master of Athens, prepared to return to Persia at the head of a part of his army; leaving the other part of it with Mardonius: not so much with the hope of reducing Greece, as through the fear of being pursued.

120. These resolutions were communicated in a council held soon after the fight; and the night following the fleet set sail in great confusion towards the Hellespont, and took up their winter quarters at Cuma. The king himself leaving the generals to take care of the army, hastened with a small retinue to the sea side, which he reached forty-five days after the battle of Salamis. When he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves in a tempest that had lately happened there.

121. He was, therefore, obliged to pass the strait in a small boat; which manner of returning, being compared to the ostentatious method in which he had set out, rendered his disgrace still more poignant and afflicting. The army which he had ordered to follow him, having been unprovided with provisions, suffered great hardships by the way.

122. After having consumed all the corn they could find, they were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. Thus harassed and fatigued, a pestilence began to complete their misery; and after a fatiguing journey of forty-five days, in which they were pursued rather by vul

tures and beasts of prey, than by men, they came to the Hellespont, where they crossed over, and marched from thence to Sardis. Such was the end of Xerxes' expedition into Greece. A measure begun in pride, and terminating in infamy.

123. It is to be observed, however, that we have all this account from the Greek writers only, who no doubt have been partial to their countrymen. I am told, that the Persian historians represent this expedition in a very different light, and say, that the king was recalled in the midst of his successes, to quell an insurrection at home. Be this as it will, the affairs of Persia seemed, after that, to go backward until the time when Alexander led a conquering army of Greeks to invade them in turn.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Retreat of Xerxes to the Peace concluded between the Greeks and the Persians.

1. THE earliest object the Greeks took care of, after the battle of Salamis, was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken from the Persians to Delphos. A. M. 3524. Considered in a confederated light, they were ever attentive to the duties of religion; and though the sects and opinions in philosophy, taught mankind to entertain but very mean ideas of the objects of public worship, yet it was religion that formed their bond of union; and, for a while, held them feebly together.

2. When that bond came to be broken, and the council of the Amphictyons became rather a political than a religious assembly, the general union no longer prevailed; and the different states fell a sacrifice to their own contentions.

3. The joy of the Greeks upon this victory was general and loud; every commander had his share of honour, but the glory of Themistocles eclipsed that of all the rest. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the commanding officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing the names of such as merited the first and second rewards.

4. On this occasion, each officer concerned adjudged the first rank to himself, but all allowed the second to Themistocles, which was, in fact, a tacit superiority. This was farther confirmed by the Lacedæmonians, who carried him in triumph to Sparta; and having adjudged the rewards of valour to their own countryman, Euribyades, adjudged that of wisdom to Themistocles. They crowned him with olive; presented him with

a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horse to the confines of their state.

5. But still there was a homage paid him that flattered his pride yet more : when he appeared at the Olympic games, the spectators received him with uncommon acclamations. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour ; nobody regarded either the games or the combatants ; Themistocles was the only spectacle worth their attention. Struck with such flattering honours, he could not help observing, that he that day reaped the fruits of all his labours.

6. After the Grecians were returned from pursuing the Persian fleet, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had espoused their interests, in order to levy contributions. The first he applied to was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum. *I come, said he, to you, accompanied by two very powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity. Alas !* replied they, *we also have divinities on our side, Poverty and Impossibility.*

7. In consequence of this reply, he blocked them up for some time ; but finding them too well fortified, he was obliged to retire. Some other islands, however, were neither furnished with so much reason or so much power. He exacted large sums from all such as were incapable of opposition ; and these contributions he chiefly converted to his own private advantage, thus showing in his own character two very oddly assorted qualities, avarice and ambition.

8. In the mean time, Mardonius, who remained in Greece, with a body of three hundred thousand men, passed the winter in Thessaly ; and in the beginning of spring led them down into the province of Bœotia. From thence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with a splendid retinue to Athens, with proposals for an accommodation ; and to endeavour to make them separate their interests from the general cause of Greece. He offered to rebuild their city ; to give them a considerable sum of money : to suffer them to enjoy their laws and constitution, and to give them the government of all Greece.

9. Aristides was at that time in the highest office, being principal archon at Athens. It was in his presence that the king of Macedon made his proposals ; and that the deputies from the other states of Greece endeavoured to avert the force of them. But Aristides wanted no prompter, but the natural dictates of his own heart, to give them an answer. "To men," said he, "bred up to pleasure and ignorance, it is natural to proffer great rewards ; and to hope by bribes to buy off virtue. Barbarians, who make silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, may

be excused for thinking to corrupt the fidelity of every people : but that the Lacedæmonians, who came to remonstrate against these offers, should suppose they could prevail, was indeed surprising.

10. "The Athenians have the common liberty of Greece entrusted to their care, and mountains of gold are not able to shake their fidelity. No : so long as that sun which the Persians adore, continues to shine with wonted splendour, so long shall the Athenians be mortal enemies to the Persians ; so long shall they pursue them, for ravishing their lands, for burning their houses, and polluting their temples : such is the answer we return to the Persian proposal ; and you," continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, "if you are truly their friend, refrain, for the future, from being the bearer of such proposals ; your honour, and perhaps even your safety demands it."

11. All treaty being thus broke up, Mardonius prepared to act with vigour, and invaded Attica, which the Athenians were once more obliged to desert and leave to his fury. He entered Athens ten months after it had been taken by Xerxes, the inhabitants having again conveyed themselves to Salamis, and other neighbouring places.

12. In that state of exile and want, they continued contented with all their sufferings, since repaid by freedom. Even Lycidas, a senator, who attempted to propose a submission, was stoned to death, while his wife and children met with the same fate from the women, so strong was the aversion which the Athenians had conceived against all communications with Persia.

13. In the mean time, the Spartans, whose duty it was to co-operate with the Athenians with equal ardour, unmindful of the general cause, only thought of making preparations for their own security ; and resolved to fortify the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering into Peloponnesus.

14. This the Athenians considered as a base and ungrateful defection, and sent deputies to remonstrate against the Spartan conduct. These had orders to say, that if Sparta would persist in its partial method of seeking security, the Athenians would follow their example ; and instead of suffering all for Greece, would turn with their fleet to the Persians, who, being thus masters of the sea, could invade the territory of Sparta whenever they should think proper. These menaces had so good an effect, that five thousand men were privately despatched, each attended with seven Helotes, and were actually upon their march before the Spartans gave the Athenian deputies any answer.

15. Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was on his return to the country of Bœotia, where he resolved to await the

approach of the enemy, as he could there draw up his forces with greater ease than in the hilly parts of Attica, where a few might be opposed to numbers with greater success. He encamped by the river Asopos, along the banks of which his army extended, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

16. Great as this army was, the Greeks, with much inferior forces, resolved to meet it in the field. Their forces were by this time assembled, and amounted to seventy thousand men. Of these, five thousand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thousand Helotes. The Athenians amounted to eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. In the right wing of this army the Spartans were placed, commanded by Cleombrotus; in the left wing the Athenians, with Aristides at their head.

17. In this order they followed Mardonius into Boeotia, determined on trying the fate of a battle; and encamped at no great distance from him at the foot of mount Cythæron. Here they continued for some time, awaiting in dreadful suspense a battle that was to determine the fate of Greece. Some skirmishing between the Persian cavalry, and the wing of the Grecian army, in which the latter were successful, seemed to give a presage of future victory, which, however, for ten days neither side seemed willing to strike for.

18. While the two armies were thus opposed, waiting the most favourable opportunity of engaging; the Greeks, by their mutual dissensions, were upon the point of losing their freedom in satisfying their mutual jealousy. The first dispute that arose in the army was began by the Tegeans, who contended with the Athenians upon the point of precedence. They willingly allowed the Spartans the command of the right wing, as they constantly had it: but they insisted on having the left, alleging that they had earned it by former acts of valour and well-known success.

19. The dispute ran high; a mutinous disposition began to prevail in all parts of the army: and the enemy were likely to become victorious without a blow.

20. In this general spirit of dissension, Aristides alone appeared unmoved. Long noted for his impartiality and justice, all parties fixed their eyes upon him as the only moderator from whom they could expect satisfaction. Wherefore, turning himself to the Spartans, and some of the rest of the confederates, he addressed them in the following manner: "It is not now a time, my friends, to dispute of the merit of past services, for all boasting is vain in the day of danger. Let it be the brave man's pride to rest assured, that it is not the post or station which gives courage, or which can take it away. I head the Atheni-

ans, whatever post you shall assign us we will maintain it: and make our station, wherever we are placed, the post of true honour and military glory.

21. "We are come hither not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boast of our ancestors, but to imitate them. This battle will distinguish the particular merit of each city, each commander, and even the lowest sentinel will share the honour of the day." This speech determined the council of war in favour of the Athenians, who, thereupon, were allowed to maintain their former station.

22. A fatal conspiracy in the midst of the Athenians threatened consequences still more dangerous, as they were unseen. Some of the best and richest families, who had wasted their fortunes in the war, and lost their credit in the city, entered into a confederacy to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians. Aristides, however, still watchful in the service of the state, was early informed of their machinations, and instantly laid their schemes before the general council. Notwithstanding he was contented with having eight of the conspirators arrested; and of these, two only were reserved for trial.

23. Yet his lenity, or, to call it by a truer name, his prudence, would not permit him to act rigorously even against these; as he knew that severity in times of general danger would but depress the ardour of the army, he permitted them to escape; and thus sacrificed public justice to public security.

24. Both armies had now continued for ten days in sight of each other, in anxious expectation of an engagement; both willing to begin, yet afraid to strike, as the aggressor was to engage at a disadvantage. But Mardonius being naturally of an impatient, fiery disposition, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had not much provisions left for his army, and the Grecians grew every day stronger, by the addition of fresh supplies.

25. He, therefore, called a council of war, to deliberate whether he should give battle; Artabazus, a person of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle; but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes; while the enemy, formed of various troops, and subject to different leaders, would destroy each other by their own dissensions; or might be partly corrupted to give up the common cause.

26. This opinion was the most reasonable; but Mardonius, spurred on by his natural impetuosity, and wearied with a protracting war, resolved to engage; nor had the rest courage to contradict his resolution. The result, therefore was, that they should give battle the next day.

27. This being resolved on the side of Persia, the Greeks

were not less prepared for the engagement, for they had been secretly apprised the night before by Alexander, king of Macedon, of the result of the Persian councils. Pausanias, therefore, gave orders to his army to prepare themselves for battle; and drawing up his forces, placed the Athenians on the right, as being better acquainted with the Persian manner of fighting, and flushed with former success.

28. Whether it was fear or prudence that suggested this change to the general, the Athenians took the post of honour with exultation: nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to bravery, and a steady resolution to conquer or fall. But Mardonius hearing of this alteration in the disposition of the Grecian army, made an alteration also in his own. This also once more produced a change in the disposition of the Greeks; by this changing and re-changing the order of battle, nothing farther was done for that day.

29. At night, the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from their present situation, and march to another more conveniently situated for water. As their removal was to be performed in the night, much disorder ensued; and in the morning, Mardonius perceiving them scattered over the plain, he supposed that they were flying rather than retreating; he, therefore, resolved to pursue them with his whole army.

30. The Greeks perceiving his design, soon collected their scattered forces, which the darkness had dispersed but not intimidated, and halting near the little city of Plataea, there determined to await the shock of their pursuers. The barbarian forces soon came up to the engagement with their accustomed howling, expecting rather to plunder than to fight.

31. The Lacedæmonians, who closed up the rear of the Grecian army, were the first who supported the shock of the assailants. They were in some measure separated from the rest of the army, by the obstinacy of one of their own regiments, who considered their retreat as contrary to the idea of Spartan discipline, but still consisting of a formidable body of men, they were in a capacity of making head against the invaders. Collecting themselves into a phalanx, they stood impenetrable and immovable to all the assaults of the enemy.

32. In the mean time, the Athenian troops, who were apprised of the attack, quickly turned back, in order to assist their allies; but the Greeks, who were in Persian pay, to the number of five thousand, intercepted their return. Thus, the battle was divided into two, and fought with great ardour in various parts of the field. But nothing could resist the weight of the Spartan

phalanx, who, after some time, broke in upon the Persian forces, and put them into disorder.

33. In this tumult Mardonius, in attempting to restore the order of battle, and rushing into the midst of the carnage, was killed by Aimnestus, a Spartan; and soon after, all his army betook themselves to flight. The other Greek troops soon followed the brave example set them by Sparta, and the rout became general.

34. Artabazus, who commanded a body of forty thousand Persians, fled with them towards the Hellespont: while the rest fortified themselves in their camp by wooden ramparts. There they were attacked by the Spartans, but being not well skilled in that part of war, the Athenians soon came up to their assistance, and soon effected a breach in this hasty rampart.

35. It was then that the slaughter of the enemy was indiscriminate and terrible. Of all the Persian army that had taken refuge there, not four thousand men escaped. Above a hundred thousand men were put to the sword; and the conquerors, willing to rid their country at once of their terrible invaders, refused to give quarter. Thus ended the Persian invasions of Greece, nor ever after was the Persian army seen to cross the Hellespont.

36. The carnage being at last over, the Greeks buried their dead, which at most did not amount to ten thousand men; and soon after, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, they caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at the general expense, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of the several nations of Greece that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue, the Spartans first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

37. In the mean time, while success attended the Grecian arms upon land, they were not less fortunate at sea. The greatest part of the Persian fleet, after the defeat at Salamis, wintered at Cumæ; and in the spring moved to Samos, both to guard and awe the coasts of Asia. The Grecians, in the mean time, were refitting their ships at Ægina, and being importuned by the Samians, they put to sea under the conduct of Leotichydes, the Spartan, and Xanthippus, the Athenian.

38. The Persians, apprised of their approaching, and having long experienced their own inferiority, would not venture to oppose them at sea, but drew up their ships upon land at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, where they fortified them with a wall and deep trench, while they were also protected by an army of sixty thousand foot under the command of Tigranes.

39. This, however, did not deter the Greeks from venturing to attack them. Leotichydes having endeavoured to make the Ionians revolt, landed his forces, and the next day prepared for

the assault. He drew up his army in two bodies ; the one consisting chiefly of Athenians and Corinthians, kept the plain, whilst the other, of Lacedæmonians, marched over the hills and precipices, to gain the highest ground.

40. The battle being joined, great courage and resolution was shown on both sides, and the fortune of the day continued for a long time in suspense. The defection of the Greek auxiliaries in the Persian army, turned the fate of the battle ; the Persians were soon routed and pursued with great slaughter to their very tents.

41. The Athenians had made themselves masters of the field before the Lacedæmonians could come to their assistance, so that all the share these had in the action was to disperse some Persian troops which were attempting to make a regular retreat ; soon after their ramparts were forced, and all their vessels burnt, so that nothing could be more complete than the victory at Mycale. Tigranes, the Persian general, and forty thousand men of his army, lay dead on the field of battle ; the fleet was destroyed ; and of the great army brought into Europe by Xerxes, scarce one remained to bring back the tidings.

42. The battle of Plataea was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the evening of the same day. But what is very extraordinary, it is universally affirmed, that the victory at Plataea was known at Mycale before the battle began, though it is a passage of several days from one place to the other. It is most probable that Leotichydes made use of the report to encourage his army, and incite them to emulate their associates in the cause of freedom.

43. During these misfortunes, Xerxes, who had been the cause of all, lay at Sardis, expecting the event of his expedition ; but every hour coming loaded with the news of some fatal disaster, finding himself unable to retrieve his affairs, he retired farther into the country ; and endeavoured to drown in luxury and riot the uneasy reflections of his unsuccessful ambition.

44. To the want of success abroad, was added the contempt of his subjects at home ; and this brought on a train of treasons, insurrections, sacrilege, murder, incest, and cruelty ; so that the latter part of his reign was as scandalous as the first part of it had been unfortunate.

45. The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had built over that strait ; but finding them already destroyed by the tempestuous weather, they returned home. From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into the general confederacy, most of them preserved their liberty during the time that empire subsisted.

46. The treasures which the Persians had brought into Greece were very great; and these of consequence became a prey to the conquerors. From this period, the Greeks began to lose their spirit of hardy and laborious virtue; and to adopt the refined indolence, the captious petulance, and the boundless love of pleasure, which extreme wealth is ever known to produce.

47. The former equality of the people now began to be broken; and while one part of the inhabitants rioted in opulence and luxury, another was seen pining in want and despair. It was in vain that philosophy reared its head to stop these calamities; its voice reaches but to a few; the great, and the little vulgar, are equally deaf to its dictates.

48. From this time we are to view a different picture; and instead of a brave and refined people, confederating against tyranny, we are to behold an enervated and factious populace, a corrupt administration among those in power, and wealth alone making distinction.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Victory at Mycale, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

1. No sooner were the Greeks freed from the apprehensions of a foreign invasion, than they began to entertain jealousies of each other. Indeed, these petty animosities had all along subsisted among them; but they were kept under by the sense of general danger. As this collection of republics was composed of states entirely dissimilar in manners, interests, and inclinations, it was no ways surprising to find its parts ever at variance with each other. A. M. 8526.

2. The first marks of jealousy upon the destruction of the Persian army, exhibited themselves between the Athenians and Spartans. The one, a refined ambitious state, unwilling to admit a superior in the general confederacy; the other, a hardy unpolished race, which could never think of admitting a feebler state as an equal. The Athenians, with their families, being returned to their own country, began to think of rebuilding their city, which had been almost destroyed during the Persian war.

3. As every new foundation aims at improving the old, they laid a plan of strengthening and extending their walls; and giving their city at once, more magnificence and security. This was but natural: however, the Lacedæmonians conceived a jealousy at this undertaking; and began to think that Athens,

from being mistress of the seas, would soon attempt usurping all authority upon land.

4. They, therefore, sent an embassy to the Athenians, to dissuade them from this undertaking, giving as an ostensible reason, the danger such fortifications would be of to the general confederacy, if they should ever fall into the hands of the Persians. This message at first appeared reasonable, and the Athenians put an immediate stop to their undertaking; but Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamis, continued to guide in the assemblies of Athens, easily saw through the pretext; and advised the council to meet their dissimulation with similar address.

5. He, therefore, answered the Spartan ambassadors, that the Athenians would soon send an embassy to Lacedæmon, in which they would fully satisfy all their scruples. Having thus gained time, he procured himself to be elected for that important negotiation; and took care to draw out the treaty by studied delays. He had previously desired that his colleagues should follow one after another, and still he alleged at Lacedæmon that he only waited for their arrival to determine the affair at a single audience.

6. During all this time the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost vigour and industry; the women and children, strangers and slaves, were all employed in it, nor was it interrupted for a single day.

7. It was in vain that the Spartans complained of this procedure; it was in vain that they urged Themistocles to hasten his business; he stedfastly denied the fact, and entreated them not to give any credit to loose and idle reports. He desired they would send again and inquire into the truth of the matter; and, at the same time, advised the Athenians to detain the Spartans' envoys until he and his colleagues should return.

8. At last, finding all his pretence for delay exhausted, he boldly demanded an audience; and knowing that the work was finished, he no longer kept on the mask. He then informed the Spartans in full council, that Athens was now in a condition to keep out any enemy, whether foreign or domestic; that what his countrymen had done was conformable both to the law of nations and the common interests of Greece.

9. Every city had a right to consult for its own safety, without submitting to the voice or control of its neighbours; that what had been done was entirely in consequence of his advice; and, in short, that whatever injury they offered him, they must expect it would be returned upon their own ambassadors, who were still detained at Athens.

10. These declarations extremely displeased the Lacedæmonians; but either sensible of their truth, or unwilling to come to

an open rupture, they dissembled their resentment, and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities. Themistocles was received with as much joy by his fellow-citizens as if he had returned from a triumph; and he was of a disposition to feel those honours with the highest delight.

11. Having thus taken proper precautions for securing the city, his next care was to strengthen the port, and form a harbour at once spacious and secure. He likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels to continue and augment their force by sea; and in order to engage the greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour.

12. His design was to render Athens entirely a maritime city, in which he followed a very different system of politics from their former governors, who bent all their efforts to alienate the minds of the people from commerce and naval affairs.

13. But as success in one part is apt to lead on to designs still more extensive, Themistocles was willing to outstep the bounds of justice in the prosecution of his darling projects. He even formed a plan of supplanting Sparta, and making Athens the unrivalled mistress of Greece. On a certain day, therefore, he declared in a full assembly of the people, that he had a very important design to propose; but which could not be communicated to the public, as the execution required secrecy and despatch.

14. He, therefore, desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself; one whose judgment might direct, and whose authority might confirm him in his design. To direct in a matter of this importance, it was not easy to miss the wisest and the best man of the state: and Aristides was unanimously chosen by the whole assembly as the properest person to weigh the justice as well as the utility of the proposal.

15. Themistocles, therefore, taking him aside, told him that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port; and thus procure Athens an undisputed sovereignty of the sea. Aristides, inwardly displeased at the proposal, made no answer; but returning to the assembly, informed them, that nothing could be more advantageous for Athens than what Themistocles had proposed; but nothing could be more unjust.

16. The people, still possessed of a share of remaining virtue, unanimously declined the proposal without knowing its contents; and conferred the surname of *Just* upon Aristides; a title still more flattering, as he had so well deserved it.

17. Thus Athens being restored to peace and security, once more began to apply to those arts that adorn life, and secure freedom. The people began to assume a greater share in the government of the state than they had hitherto aspired at ; and steps were every day taken to render the constitution entirely popular.

18. Aristides perceived this ; and justly dreaded the consequences of a democratic government ; he, therefore, procured a decree, that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the state, should be chosen indiscriminately from all ranks of Athenians without distinction. Thus, by indulging the citizens in a part of their wishes, he secured a legal subordination among the whole.

19. In the mean time, the Grecians, encouraged by their former victories, resolved to send a fleet to deliver their confederates, who still groaned beneath the Persian yoke. Pausanias commanded the Spartan fleet, while Aristides and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, were appointed to conduct the fleets of Athens. This was the first time the latter, who was yet very young, was placed in a sphere for the exhibition of his virtues.

20. He had formerly suffered himself to be imprisoned towards the satisfying of his father's fine, and his piety upon that occasion gave the most favourable presage of his future greatness. When set at liberty, his services in war soon became conspicuous ; and it was seen that he acted with the courage of his father, the judgment of Themistocles, and with more sincerity than either. The ingenuous openness of his temper being easily seen, he was opposed in the state as a counterpoise to the craft and subtlety of Themistocles ; and thus advanced to the highest employments both at home and abroad.

21. Under these commanders, the allied fleet first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty ; then steering towards the Hellespont, attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters ; and took a vast number of prisoners, many of whom were the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

22. The success of this expedition was not more flattering to the Greeks, than in the end prejudicial to them. A deluge of wealth pouring in, corrupted the simplicity, and tainted the manners of every rank of people. The Athenians, already skilled in the arts of politeness and effeminacy, concealed their change for a time ; but it soon broke out among the Spartans, and Pausanias himself, their commander, was the first infected with the contagion.

23. Being naturally of a haughty and imperious temper, and still more impressed with the gloomy austerity of Sparta, he set no bounds to his ambition ; he treated his officers and even the

confederate generals, with severity, arrogance, and disdain ; and so much alienated the minds of the soldiers, that he was forsaken by all the confederates, who put themselves under the command and protection of Aristides and Cimon.

24. These generals had ever preserved a contrary conduct : affable, courteous, and obliging, they tempered their authority with mildness ; and won, by their manners, such as they could not engage by their benefits. An opposition, so mortifying, could not but be displeasing to Pausanias ; it was in vain that he attempted to keep up his authority by pride and ostentation ; his importance sunk with his unpopularity ; and he became contemptible even to those that still acknowledged his command.

25. Perhaps it was from these motives, that he resolved to sacrifice his country to his ambition ; and give up to the Persians, a state where he could no longer expect to dictate. Be this as it will, he made overtures for gaining the favour of Xerxes ; and, in order to ingratiate himself at the court of that monarch, he suffered some of his more exalted prisoners to make their escape by night, commissioned with letters to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver up Sparta and all Greece, on condition that he would give him his daughter in marriage.

26. Xerxes readily hearkened to the proposal, and referred him to Artabazus, his governor, to concert measures with him for putting it in execution. He also furnished him with a large sum of money to be distributed among such of the Grecian states as would join in the conspiracy.

27. How long this treaty continued secret, we are not told ; but it was discovered at Sparta, before it could be put into execution ; and Pausanias was ordered home to take his trial for the offence. The proofs, however, against him were not sufficient for conviction, as the ephori had made it a rule never to convict a man but upon the plainest evidence. But his command was taken from him ; and he retired, still meditating revenge and destruction to his country.

28. It was not long, however, before he received a second summons to appear before the ephori for fresh crimes, and a number of his own slaves were found to depose against him. Still, however, he had the fortune to come off, the mildness of the Spartan laws, and the authority of his regal office, which he still possessed, conspiring to protect him.

29. Pausanias, having in this manner twice escaped the justice of his country, would not, however, abandon his base projects, or sacrifice his resentment to his safety. Immediately upon his being acquitted, he returned to the sea-coasts, without

any authority from the state, and still continued to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus.

30. He now acted with such little reserve, that his conduct was known to the ephori, and they only wanted information to convict him. While they were thus perplexed for want of evidence, a certain slave, who was called the Argillian, cleared their doubts, and came with proofs which could not be resisted.

31. This man had been employed by Pausanias to carry a letter to Artabazus, and he accordingly prepared himself for the expedition; but reflecting that many of his fellow-slaves had been sent on similar messages, and seeing none of them return, he was induced to open the packet of which he was the bearer, and there he discovered the mystery, and his own danger.

32. It seems that Pausanias and the Persian governor had agreed to put to death all the messengers they mutually sent to each other as soon as their letters were delivered, so that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering the correspondence. This letter he delivered to the ephori, who were now convinced that Pausanias was guilty; but for a more thorough confirmation they were willing to have it from himself.

33. For this purpose, they contrived that the slave should take sanctuary in the temple of Neptune, as for safety and protection; and, under a pretence of supplicating the deity, for the infidelity he had committed. The instant Pausanias was informed of his slave's behaviour, he hastened to the temple to inquire the reason; where the slave informed him, that having opened his letter, he found the contents fatal to himself; and, therefore, took this method of averting the danger.

34. Pausanias, instead of denying the fact, endeavoured rather to pacify the slave, and promised him a large reward to bribe his future secrecy. But during this interview, the ephori had privately posted persons to overhear the conversation, and they soon divulged his guilt.

35. The moment, therefore, he was returned to the city, the ephori resolved to seize him, and from the aspect of one of these magistrates he plainly perceived his danger: he therefore flew to take sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, and got thither before his pursuers could overtake him.

36. As the religion of the state would not permit his being taken forcibly from thence, the people stopped up the entrance with great stones; and tearing off the roof, left him exposed to the inclemency of the weather. After a short stay he was starved to death; and in this miserable manner died the general who had led on the victorious troops to the field of Platæa.

37. The fate of Pausanias soon after involved that of The-

mistocles, who had some time before been banished, and lived in great esteem at Argos. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious at Athens.

38. He had built near his house a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, "To Diana, the goddess of good counsel," as hinting at his own counsels upon several important occasions, and thus tacitly reproaching his fellow-citizens of having forgot them. This, though a small offence, was sufficient to expel him from so fluctuating and jealous a state as that of Athens; but he was now accused of having participated in, and having been privy to the designs of Pausanias.

39. In fact, Pausanias had communicated to him all his designs; but Themistocles had rejected his proposals with the utmost indignation. But then he concealed his enterprises; either thinking it base to betray the secrets trusted to his confidence, or imagining it impossible for such dangerous and ill-concerted schemes to take effect.

40. Be this as it will, upon the downfall of Pausanias, it appeared that a correspondence had been carried on between them; and the Lacedæmonians declared themselves his accusers before the assembly of the people of Athens. Such of the citizens as had long either envied, or feared Themistocles, now joined in the general accusation, and urged his death with great acrimony.

41. Aristides alone, who had long been his open opposer, refused to join in this base confederacy against him, and rejected so mean an opportunity of revenge, being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to envy his successes. It was in vain that Themistocles answered by letters to the calumnies laid against him; it was in vain that he alleged that a mind like his, disdaining slavery at home, could think of wishing for it in exile; the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent persons to seize and bring him before the council of Greece.

42. Fortunately, however, he had timely notice of their design, and went to take refuge in the island of Corcyra, to the inhabitants of which he had formerly done signal services. From thence he fled to Epirus, and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians, grown at length desperate, he fled to Admetus, king of the Molossians, for refuge. There he first practised all the abject arts of a man obliged to sue to a tyrant for succour.

43. He had, upon a former occasion, been instrumental in preventing the Athenians from granting aid to this monarch; and this was now severely remembered against him. Admetus was from home at the time Themistocles came to implore pro-

tection : and, upon his return, he was surprised to find his old adversary, who had come to put himself under his protection.

44. As soon as the king appeared, Themistocles took that monarch's young son in his arms, and seating himself amidst the household gods, informed him of the cause of his arrival, and implored his clemency and protection. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion, at seeing the greatest man of Greece a humble suppliant at his feet, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised him protection. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had made his palace an asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would afford him safety and protection.

45. Thus, continuing to spend the close of his life in indolence and retirement, having learned to pardon and despise the ingratitude of his country, he expected at least their forgiveness. But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, would not suffer him to live in peace, and still insisted on having him delivered up. In this exigence, as the king found himself unable to protect his illustrious guest, he resolved to promote his escape.

46. He was, therefore, put on board a merchant ship, which was sailing to Ionia, and his quality concealed with the utmost precaution. A storm having carried the ship near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger he was in of falling into their hands, compelled him to discover himself to the pilot, and prevailed upon him to steer for Asia ; where, arriving at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Asia Minor, he was from thence sent under a strong guard, and in one of those covered chariots, in which the Persians were accustomed to convey their wives to the court at Sardis.

47. When the unfortunate exile was arrived at the palace of the voluptuous monarch of the country, he waited on the captain of the guard, requesting, as a Grecian stranger, to have permission to speak with the king. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks : but, without which, none were allowed that honour. This was to fall prostrate before the Persian monarch, and to worship him as the living image of the gods on earth.

48. Themistocles, who was never scrupulous of the means of obtaining what he sought, promised to comply, and falling on his face before the king, in the Persian manner, declared his name, his country, and misfortunes. "I have done," cried he, "my ungrateful country services more than once, and I am now come to offer those services to you. My life is in your hands ; you may now exert your clemency, or display your ven-

geance. By the former, you will preserve a faithful suppliant, by the latter, you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece."

49. The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his eloquence and intrepidity, but he soon gave a loose to his joy for the event. He told his courtiers, that he considered the arrival of Themistocles as a very happy accident, and wished that his enemies would for ever pursue the same destructive methods, of banishing from among them all the good and wise.

50. Even his satisfactions were continued in a dream. At night, he was seen to start from his sleep, and three times to cry out, "I have got Themistocles the Athenian." He even gave him three cities for his support, and had him maintained in the utmost affluence and splendour. It is said, that such was his favour at the Persian court, and so great was the consideration in which he was held by all ranks of mankind, that one day at table, he was heard to cry out to his wife and children, that were placed there, "Children, we should have been certainly ruined, if we had not been formerly undone."

51. In this manner, he lived in affluence and contented slavery, until the king began to think of employing his talents in sending him at the head of an army against Athens. Although Themistocles professed himself an open enemy to the state, yet he still harboured a latent affection for it, which no resentment could remove. The consciousness that he should be instrumental in overturning a city which had been made to flourish by his counsels, gave him inexpressible pain.

52. He found himself at last, unable to sustain the conflict between his gratitude to the king, and his love to his country; and, therefore, resolved upon dying, as the only means of escaping from his perplexity. He, therefore, prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends, when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell, he swallowed poison, which soon put an end to his life. He died at Magnesia, aged three-score and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent in the intrigues and bustles of active employment.

53. Themistocles seemed to unite in himself all the prominent features of the Greek character, sagacious, eloquent, and brave, yet unprincipled, artful, and mercenary, with too many virtues ever to be mentioned as a despicable character, and too many defects ever to be considered as a great one.

54. In the mean time, while Themistocles was thus become the sport of fortune, the just Aristides attempted a nobler path to glory. It has already been observed, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians; and it was

agreed among the body of the states, that their common treasure for carrying on the expenses of the war, should be lodged in the island of Delos, under the custody of a man of a clear head and an uncorrupt heart.

55. The great question, therefore, was, where to find a man to be trusted with so important a charge, and stedfastly known to prefer the public interest to his own. In this general disquisition all parties cast their eyes on Aristides, of whom Themistocles used jestingly to say, that he had no other merit than that of a strong box, in keeping safely what was committed to his charge.

56. The conduct of Aristides in his discharge of this duty only served to confirm the great opinion mankind had formed of his integrity. He presided over the treasury with the care of a father over his family; and the caution of a miser over what he holds dearer than himself. No man complained of his administration; and no part of the public money was exhausted in vain. He, who thus contributed to make government rich, was himself very poor; and so far was he from being ashamed of poverty, that he considered it as glorious to him as all the trophies and victories he had won.

57. It happened upon a certain occasion, that Callias, an intimate friend and relation of Aristides, was summoned before the judges for some offence; and one of the chief objections alleged against him was, that while he rolled in affluence and luxury, he suffered his friend and relation Aristides to remain in poverty and want. Upon this occasion Aristides was called upon, when it appeared that Callias had often offered to share his fortune with him, but that he declined the benefit; asserting, that he only might be said to want who permits his appetites to transgress the bounds of his income, and that he who could dispense with a few things, thus rendered himself more like the gods, that want for nothing.

58. In this manner he lived, just in his public, and independent in his private capacity. His house was a public school for virtue; and was open to all young Athenians who sought wisdom, or were ambitious of power. He gave them the kindest reception; heard them with patience; instructed them with familiarity, and endeavoured above all things, to give them a just value for themselves. Among the rest of his disciples, Cimon, who afterwards made such a distinguished figure in the state, was one of the foremost.

59. History does not mention the exact time or place of his death, but it pays the most glorious testimony to his disinterested character, in telling us that he who had the absolute disposal

of all the public treasures died poor. It is even asserted, that he did not leave money enough behind him to pay the expenses of his funeral; but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family.

60. His daughters were married, and his son subsisted at the expense of the public; and some of his grand-children were subsisted by a pension equal to that which such received as had been victorious at the Olympic games. But the greatest honour which his countrymen paid to his memory, was in giving him the title of *Just*, a character far superior to all the empty titles of wisdom or conquest; since fortune or accident may confer wisdom or valour, but all the virtues of morality are solely of our own making.

61. Athens being in this manner deprived of the counsels and integrity of her two greatest magistrates, room was now made for younger ambition to step forward; and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, promised to fill the scene with dignity and honour. Cimon had spent his youth in excesses, from whence it was thought no effort could extricate him. When he first offered to gain public favour, he was so ill received by the people, prejudiced against him by his former follies, that he suffered the most cruel neglect.

62. But though he was possessed of courage and abilities, he began to lay aside all thoughts of the public, contented with only humbler satisfactions. But Aristides perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many great qualifications, he inspired him with fresh hopes: and persuaded him once more to renew the onset.

63. He now, therefore, entirely changed his conduct, and laying aside his juvenile follies, aimed at nothing but what was great and noble. Thus, he became not inferior to Miltiades in courage, to Themistocles in prudence, and was not far surpassed by Aristides in integrity.

64. The first expedition of any note to the command of which Cimon was appointed, was of the fleet destined to scour the Asiatic seas. When he was arrived at Caria, all the Grecian cities upon the sea-coast immediately came in; and the rest, which were garrisoned by the Persians, were taken by storm. Thus, by his conduct, as well as by his intelligence, the whole country from Ionia to Pamphylia declared against the power of Persia; and joined in the association with Greece.

65. The capture of the city Eion is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Boges was governor, who held it for his master, the king of Persia, with a firm resolution to save it, or perish in its fall.

66. It was in his power to have capitulated with the besiegers; and Cimon had often offered him very advantageous terms: but preferring his honour to his safety, he declined all treaty, and defended his station with incredible fury, till he found it no longer possible to continue this defence. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw all his treasures from the walls into the river Strymon; after which, killing his wife and children, he laid them upon a pile which he had erected for that purpose, and then setting fire to the whole, rushed and expired in the midst of the flames.

67. Cimon, thus proceeding from one conquest to another, was at last informed that the whole Persian fleet was anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymedon; where they expected a reinforcement of ships from Phœnicia, and therefore deferred an engagement till then. The Athenian general, however, resolved if possible to prevent this junction; and ranged his gallies in such a posture as to prevent it, and yet compel the enemy to an engagement. It was in vain that the Persian fleet retired farther up the mouth of the river, the Athenians still pursued them until they were obliged to prepare for battle.

68. The Persians, having the superiority of a hundred sail, maintained the conflict for some time with great intrepidity; but being at last forced on shore, they who came first threw themselves upon land, leaving their empty vessels to the enemy. Thus, besides what was sunk, the Athenians took above two hundred ships; and following their blow upon land, the Greek soldiers jumping from their ships, and setting up a shout, ran furiously upon the enemy, who sustained the first shock with great resolution.

69. But, at length, the Grecian valour surmounted the enemy's desperation; a total rout of the Persians ensued; numbers were made prisoners; and a great quantity of plunder seized, which was found in their tents. Thus the Greeks obtained a double victory by sea and land upon the same occasion.

70. Cimon, having returned successful from this expedition, resolved to expend those treasures which he had taken in war, in beautifying and adorning his native city. A taste for architecture had for some time been entering into Greece, and the Athenians gave the world examples in this art, that surpass all others to this very day.

71. Victories so very humiliating to the pride of Persia, induced that empire at last to think of peace; and after some time a treaty was concluded, in which the terms were very honourable on the side of Greece. It was stipulated, that the Grecian cities in Asia should be left in quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that both the land and sea forces of the Persians

should be kept at such a distance from the Grecian seas as not to create the smallest suspicion.

72. Thus entirely ended the Persian war, which had kept the Grecian states united, and called all their abilities into exertion; from that time forward these enmities which were dissipated upon the common foe, began to be turned upon each other: they lost all warlike spirit in petty jealousies; and entirely softened by the refinements and luxuries of peace, prepared themselves for submission to the first invader of their freedom.

73. About this time the study of philosophy was carried from Ionia to Athens, by Athenagoras, the Clazomenian. Poetry was, at the same time, cultivated by Simonides, of the island of Ceos, who sung the exploits of his country in a style becoming their valour. His writings, however, have not had merit enough to preserve them from oblivion; and it may be asserted, that mankind rarely suffer any work to be lost which tends to make them more wise or more happy.

CHAPTER IX.

From the Peace with Persia to the Peace of Nicias.

1. THE state of Athens being thus in a great measure freed from its fear of a foreign enemy, began to cherish intestine animosities; and its citizens laboured with every art, to supplant each other in aiming at places of trust and authority. Besides Cimon, who by general consent had been appointed to conduct the fleet and army, others endeavoured to take the lead at home, and to govern with less hazard the operations of the state.

2. The foremost in this attempt was Pericles, who was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. Pericles was descended from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens: his father, Xanthippus, defeated the Persians at Mycale, and his mother, Agarista, was niece to Calisthenes, who expelled the tyrants, and established a popular government in Athens. He had early thoughts of rising in the state; and took lessons from Anaxagoras, in the philosophy of nature.

3. He studied politics with great assiduity; but particularly devoted himself to eloquence, which, in a popular state, he considered as the fountain of all promotion. His studies were crowned with success; the poets, his contemporaries, affirm, that his eloquence was so powerful, that, like thunder, he shook and astonished all Greece. He had the art of uniting force and beauty; there was no resisting the strength of his arguments, or the sweetness of his delivery.

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4. Thucydides, his great opponet, was often heard to say, that though he had often overthrown him, the power of his persuasion was such, that the audience could never perceive him fallen. To this eloquence he added also a thorough insight into human nature, as well as a perfect acquaintance with the disposition of his auditors. It was a constant saying with him to himself, "Remember, Pericles, thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty;" and still he took care to flatter them in their ruling passion.

5. He resembled the tyrant Pisistratus, not only in the sweetness of his voice, but the features of his face, and his whole air and manner. To these natural and acquired graces, he added those of fortune; he was very rich, and had an extensive alliance with all the most powerful families of the state.

6. The death of Aristides, the banishment of Themistocles, and the absence of Cimon, gave opportunities to his growing ambition. Yet he at first concealed his designs with the most cautious reserve, till finding the people growing more and more in his interest, he set himself at their head; and opposed the principal men of the state with great appearance of disinterested virtue.

7. The chief obstacle to his rise was Cimon, whose candour and liberality had gained him a numerous party of all ranks and denominations. In opposition to him, Pericles called in popular assistance; and by expending the public money in bribes, largesses, and other distributions, he easily gained the multitude to espouse his interests.

8. Thus, having laid a secure foundation in popularity, he next struck at the council of the Areopagus, composed of the most respectable persons of all Athens; and, by the assistance of Ephialtes, another popular champion, he drew away most causes from the cognisance of that court; and brought the whole order into contempt.

9. In this manner, while Cimon was permitted to conduct the war abroad, he managed all the supplies at home; and, as it was his interest to keep Cimon at a distance, he took care to provide him with a sufficiency of foreign employment.

10. In this state of parties at Athens, an insurrection of the Helotæ, Lacedæmonian slaves, gave an opportunity of trying the strength of either. These men, who had for several centuries groaned under the yoke of their countrymen; and had been excluded from all hopes of preferment, merely by the influence of an unjust precedent to their prejudice, at last took up arms against their masters, and threatened no less than the destruction of the Spartan state. In this extremity the Lacedæmonians sent to Athens to implore succour; but this was opposed

by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way advisable to assist them, or to make a rival city powerful by their assistance.

11. On the other hand, Cimon espoused the cause of Sparta, declaring that it was weak and inconsistent to maim the Grecian confederacy, by suffering one of its members to be tamely lopped away. His opinion for this time prevailed; he was permitted to march forth at the head of a numerous body to their relief, and the insurrection was quelled at their approach. But shortly after the mischief broke out afresh. The Helotes possessed themselves of the strong fortress of Ithome, and the Spartans again petitioned for Athenian assistance.

12. It was now that the party of Pericles was found to prevail, and the Lacedæmonians were refused a compliance with their demands. Thus, left to finish the war with their insurgent slaves in the best manner they could, after besieging Ithome, which held out for ten years, they at last became masters of it, sparing the lives of those who defended it, upon condition of leaving Peloponnesus ever after.

13. In the mean time, the refusal on the side of Athens, and some indignities, said to be received on the side of Lacedæmon, revived a jealousy that had long subsisted between these rival states, which continued thenceforward to operate with greater or diminished influence, until both were utterly unable to withstand the smallest efforts of foreign invasion.

14. The first instance the Athenians gave of their resentment, was to banish Cimon, who had been a favourer of the Spartan cause, for ten years from the city. They next dissolved their alliance with Sparta; and entered into a treaty with the Argives, the professed enemies of the former. The slaves of Ithome were also taken under Athenian protection; and settled with their families at Naupactus.

15. But what contributed to widen the breach still more, the city of Megara, revolting from its alliance with Sparta, was protected and garrisoned by the Athenians: thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate hatred, which ended in mutual destruction.

16. As, in all beginning enmities, several treaties were entered into, and several leagues concluded on both sides, till at last they came to a formal rupture. Two pitched battles between the Athenians and Corinthians, in which either side was alternately victorious, sounded the alarm.

17. Another followed between the Athenians and Spartans, at Tangara, in which Cimon, forgetting the injury he had sustained from his country, came in to its assistance; but the Athenians suffered a defeat. A month or two after repaired the disgrace, and the Athenians were in their turn victorious. The

conduct of Cimon again restored him to public favour; he was recalled from banishment, in which he had spent five years; and it was Pericles, his rival, who first proposed the decree.

18. The first use Cimon made of his return was, to reconcile the two rival states to each other; and this was so far effected, outwardly, that a truce for five years was concluded between them. This led the way to exerting the power of the state upon a more distant enemy.

19. By his advice, a fleet of two hundred sail was manned, and destined, under his command, to conquer the island of Cyprus. He quickly sailed, overran the island, and laid siege to Citium. Here, being either wounded by the defendants, or wasted by sickness, he began to perceive the approaches of dissolution; but, still mindful of his duty, he ordered his attendants to conceal his death, until their schemes were crowned with success. They obeyed with secrecy and success. Thirty days after he was dead, the army, which still supposed itself under his command, gained a signal victory: thus he died not only in the arms of conquest, but gained battles merely by the efficacy of his name.

20. With Cimon, in a great measure, expired the spirit of glory in Athens. As he was the last, so he was the most successful of the Grecian heroes. Such was the terror of the Persians at his name, that they universally deserted the sea-coasts, and would not come within four hundred furlongs of the place where he could be possibly expected.

21. Pericles, being now by the death of Cimon, freed from a potent rival, set himself to complete the work of ambition which he had begun; and by dividing the conquered lands, amusing the people with shows, and adorning the city with public buildings, he gained such an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he might be said to have obtained a monarchical power in Athens.

22. He found means to maintain, for eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board the fleet, consisting of three-score ships, which he fitted out every year. He planted several colonies in the many places which had lately submitted to Athens. By this he cleared the city of a great number of idle persons, who were ever ready to disturb his government; and were, at the same time, unable to subsist themselves, by reason of his oppression.

23. But the public buildings which he raised, the ruins of some of which exist to this day, are sufficient to convey his name to posterity. It is surprising, that in a city not noted for the number of its inhabitants, and in so short a space of time as that of his administration, such laborious, expensive, and mag-

nificent works could be performed. All the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, were exhausted in his designs; and what still remain, continue to this hour as inimitable models of perfection.

24. To effect these great works, he, in some measure, had recourse to injustice; and availed himself of those treasures which had been supplied by Greece for carrying on the war with Persia: and which, having been lodged at Delos, he had address enough to get transported to Athens, where he expended them in securing his own power by all the arts of popularity.

25. By these means, Athens became so much admired and envied by her neighbours, that it went by the name of ORNAMENT; and when it was urged that the common treasure was squandered away in these works of show, Pericles answered, that the people of Athens were not accountable to any for their conduct; for they had the best right to the treasures of the confederate states, who took the greatest care to defend them. He added that it was fit ingenious artisans should have their share of the public money, since there was still enough left for carrying on the war.

26. These were rather the arguments of power than persuasion; of a man already in possession, than willing, upon just grounds to relinquish what he had claimed. It was seen not only by the wiser citizens, but by all the states of Greece, that he was daily striding into power; and would, as Pisistratus had done before, make the people the fabricators of their own chains. For remedying this growing evil, the heads of the city opposed Thucydides to his growing power; and attempted to restrain his career by opposing eloquence to popularity.

27. Thucydides was brother-in-law to Cimon, and had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He was not possessed of the military talents of his rival; but his eloquence gave him a very powerful influence over the people. As he never left the city, he still combated Pericles in all his measures; and, for a while, brought down the ambition of his rival to the standard of reason.

28. But his efforts could not long avail against the persuasive power and corrupt influence of his opponent. Pericles every day gained new ground, till he at last found himself possessed of the whole authority of the state. It was then that he began to change his behaviour, and from acting the fawning and humble suppliant, he assumed the haughty airs of royalty. He now no longer submitted himself to the caprice of the people: but changed the democratic state of Athens into a kind of monarchy.

29. He would sometimes, indeed, win his fellow-citizens over to his will; but, at other times, when he found them obstinate,

he would in a manner compel them to consult their own interests. Thus, between power and persuasion, public profusion and private economy, political falsehood, and private integrity, Pericles became the principal ruler at Athens; and all such as were his enemies became the enemies of the state.

30. It was not to be wondered at, that this magnificent state of Athens was not a little displeasing to the rival states of Greece, especially as its state of splendour was, in some measure, formed from their contributions. The Spartans, particularly, still continued to regard this growing city with envy; and soon showed their displeasure, by refusing to send deputies to Athens to consult about repairing the temple, that had been burnt down during the wars with Persia.

31. The successes of Pericles against the enemy in Thrace, still more increased their uneasiness; and particularly when sailing round Peloponnesus with a hundred ships, he protected the allies of Greece, and granted their cities all they thought fit to ask him. These successes raised the indignation of Sparta, while they intoxicated Athens with ideas of ambition, and opened new inlets for meditating conquest.

32. The citizens now began to talk of attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of Persia; of carrying their arms into Sicily, and of extending their conquest from Italy to Carthage. These were views beyond their power, and that rather marked their pride than ability.

33. An expedition against Samos, in favour of the Melisians, who had craved their assistance, was the beginning of this rupture, which never after was closed up. It is pretended that Pericles fomented this war to please a famous courtesan, named Aspasia, of whom he was particularly enamoured.

34. After several events and battles not worth the regard of history, Pericles besieged the capital of Samos with tortoises and battering rams, which was the first time these military engines had been employed in sieges. The Samians, after suffering a nine months' siege, surrendered. Pericles razed their walls; dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expenses of the war. Flushed with this success he returned to Athens; buried all those who lost their lives in the siege in the most splendid manner, and pronounced their funeral oration.

35. A rupture now between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians seemed inevitable. Pericles, therefore, to anticipate the designs of his rival state, advised that aid should be sent to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians, assisted by the Lacedæmonians, had invaded.

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36. As the quarrel between the Corcyreans and Corinthians gave rise to the great Peloponnesian war, which soon after involved all Greece, it will be necessary to give a slight account of its original. Epidamus was a colony of the Corcyreans, which growing first rich, and soon after factious, banished the chief of her citizens. The exiles joining with the Illyrians, brought the Epidamians so low, that they were obliged to send to Corcyra, their parent city, for assistance.

37. The Corcyreans rejecting their request, they had recourse to Corinth; and giving themselves up to that state, were taken under its protection. This, however, the Corcyreans began to resent; and, having been remiss in affording assistance themselves, resolved to punish such as should offer any. A rupture ensued between the Corinthians and Corcyreans; some naval engagements ensued, in which the Corcyreans being worsted, had recourse, as has already been observed, to the Athenians for support, who sent some naval succours, which, however, proved of no efficacy in their defence.

38. From this war arose another; for Potidæa, a city belonging to Athens, declaring for Corinth, these two states, from being accessories, became principals; and drew their forces into the field near Potidæa, where a battle ensued, in which the Athenians had the victory. It was in this battle that Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades, his pupil; and after the battle was over, procured him the prize of valour, which he himself had more justly earned.

39. The city of Potidæa was soon after besieged in consequence of this victory, and the Corinthians complained to the states of Greece against the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians in particular admitted them to an audience; where the deputies of Corinth endeavoured to rouse them into a sense of their danger from the ambitious designs of Athens; and threatened, if left unprotected, to put themselves under the command of a power strong enough to grant them protection and safety.

40. After hearing what the Athenians had to reply, the Spartans came to a close debate among themselves, wherein it was universally agreed that the Athenians were the aggressors; and that they should be reduced to a just sense of their duty. But the dispute was, whether war should be immediately declared against them, or remonstrances made to bring them to reason.

41. Archidamus, one of their kings, a man of prudence and temper, was of opinion that they were not at this time a match for Athens; and endeavoured to dissuade them from rushing into a thoughtless and improvident war. But Sthenelaides, one of the

ephori, urged the contrary, alleging, that when once they had received an injury, they ought not to deliberate ; but that revenge should follow insult. Accordingly a war was declared, and all the confederates were made acquainted with the resolution.

42. War being thus resolved upon, in order to give a colour of justice to their designs, the Lacedæmonians began by sending ambassadors to Athens : and while they made preparations for acting with vigour, still kept up a show of seeking redress by treaty. They required of the Athenians the expulsion of some who had profaned the temple of Minerva, at Cylon, from their city : they demanded that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and that the Athenians should cease to infringe upon the liberties of Greece.

43. Pericles now saw that as he had led the Athenians into a war, it was incumbent on him to inspire them with courage to prosecute it with success. He showed his countrymen that even trifles extorted from them with an air of command, were in themselves a sufficient ground for war ; that they might promise themselves a considerable share of success from the division in the confederated councils of their opponents ; that they had shipping to invade their enemies' coasts, and their city being well fortified, could not easily be taken by land.

44. He concluded with telling them the absolute necessity there was for war, and that the more cheerfully they undertook it, the easier it would come to a happy conclusion. That the greatest honours had generally recurred to their state from the greatest extremities ; that this might serve to animate them in its defence, so as to transmit it with undiminished honour to posterity.

45. The people, giddy, fond of change, and unterrified by distant dangers, readily came into his opinion ; and to give some colour to their proceeding, sent evasive answers to the Spartan demand ; and concluded with asserting that they desired to adjust all differences by treaty, as being unwilling to begin a war ; but in case of danger, would defend themselves with desperate resolution.

46. Thus, the people, from their love of change, entered hastily into the war, but Pericles was personally interested in its declaration. He was deeply indebted to the state, and knew that a time of peace was the only opportunity in which he could be called upon to settle his accounts.

47. It is said, that Alcibiades, his nephew, seeing him one day very pensive, and demanding the reason, was answered, that he was considering how to make up his accounts. " You had better," said he, " consider how to avoid being accountable."

48 Besides this, Pericles finding no happiness in domestic

society, gave himself up to the allurements of his mistress Aspasia, whose wit and vivacity had captivated all the poets and philosophers of the age; even Socrates himself not excepted. She was inclined to oppose the Spartan state; and he, in some measure, is thought to acquiesce in her advice.

49. War being thus resolved on every side, the first dawn of success seemed to offer in favour of Athens; the city of Plataea, that had lately declared for them, was surprised by three hundred Thebans, who were let in by a party of the town that joined in the conspiracy. But a part of the citizens that had espoused the opposite interests, falling upon them in the night, killed a part, and took two hundred prisoners, who, a little time after, were put to death.

50. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of this action, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms. From this time all Greece appeared in motion, every part of it took a side in the common quarrel, except a few states who continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war.

51. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece; and espoused their interests with ardour. On their side were ranged the Achæians, the inhabitants of Peloponnese excepted, the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium. On the side of Athens were the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plataea, many of the islands, and several tributary maritime states, including those of Thrace, Potidæa excepted.

52. The Lacedæmonians immediately after their attempts upon Plataea, assembled a body of men, making up with their confederates sixty thousand in number. Archidamus, who commanded the army, harangued them in an animated speech: he told them that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; that they were superior in numbers, and were to oppose an enemy not only inferior in number but oppressed with the consciousness of their own violence and injustice.

53. He exhorted them to march boldly into the country, where they were about to enter, with that courage for which they had been long famous, and that caution which was requisite against so insidious an adversary. The whole army answered with an acclamation of joy: and thus, that war which was to be the destruction of Greece, was commenced in a frenzy of transport by its short-sighted inhabitants, who hurried on to mutual ruin.

54. Pericles, on the other hand, prepared his scanty body of Athenians to meet the threatened blow. He declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste

the Athenian territories, spare any part of those lands which belonged to Pericles himself, he would only consider it as a trick to impose upon Athenian credulity. He therefore gave up all his property in those lands ; and resigned them back to the state, from which his ancestors had originally received them. He remonstrated to the people, that it was their interest to protract the war : and to let the enemy consume themselves by delay. He advised them to remove all their effects from the country ; and to shut themselves up in Athens, without ever hazarding a battle.

55. Their troops indeed were but very scanty compared to those they were to oppose ; they amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy armed soldiers, sixteen thousand inhabitants, and twelve hundred horse, with a body of archers about double that number. This was the whole army of the Athenians ; but their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred galleys, which by continually infesting and plundering the enemies' coast, raised contributions sufficient to defray the expenses of the war.

56. Imprest with the exhortation of Pericles, the Athenians, with a mixture of grief and resolution, forsook the culture of the fields, and carried all their possessions that could be conveyed away with them into Athens. They had now enjoyed the sweets of peace for near fifty years, and their lands wore an appearance of wealth and industry ; but from the fate of war they were once more obliged to forsake culture for encampment, the sweets of rural life for the shocks of battle.

57. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians entered the country at Oenoe, a frontier fortress ; and leaving it behind them, marched forward to Acharne, an unwall'd town, within seven miles of Athens. The Athenians, terrified at their approach, now began to convert their fury against the enemy into reproaches against their former leader. They abused him for bringing them into a war in which he had not strength to oppose, nor courage to protect : they loudly desired, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number, to be led to battle.

58. Pericles, however, chose the more moderate part. He shut up the city gates ; placed sufficient guards at all the posts around ; sent out parties of horse to keep the enemy employed, and, at the same time, ordered out one hundred galleys to infest the coast of Peloponnesus.

59. These precautions at last succeeded. After the Lacedæmonians had laid waste the whole country round Athens ; and insulted the defenders of the city by their numbers, and their reproaches, finding the place impregnable, they abandoned the siege ; and the inhabitants once more issued from their walls in joy and security.

60. The Athenians, after this severe mortification, resolved to retaliate: being left at liberty to act offensively, as well by land as sea, they invaded the enemy's territory with their whole force in turn; and took Nisæ, a strong haven, with walls reaching unto the city of Nigara.

61. Proud of the first dawn of success, and the first campaign being elapsed, during the winter they expressed their triumph by public games at the funerals of those that were slain in battle. They placed their bodies in tents three days before the funeral, upon the fourth day coffins of cypress were sent from the tribes to convey the bones of their relations; the procession marched with solemn pomp, attended by the inhabitants, and strangers who visited the city: the relations and children of the soldiers, who were killed, stood weeping at the sepulchre: those who fell at the battle of Marathon, indeed, were buried on the field; but the rest received one common interment in a place called Ceranicus.

62. Pericles, on that occasion, pronounced a funeral oration over them, which remains to this day a specimen of his great eloquence. But the joy of the public was not confined to empty praises, ceremonies, and tears: a stipend was set apart for maintaining the widows and orphans of those who fell in the service of their country. And thus ended the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

63. In the beginning of the ensuing summer, the Lacedæmonians renewed their hostilities; and invaded the territories of Athens with the same number of men as before. In this manner these capricious states went on to harass and depopulate each other; but a more terrible punishment now began to threaten them from Heaven.

64. A plague broke out in the city of Athens, a more terrible than which is scarcely recorded in the annals of history. It is related that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence travelled into Lybia and Persia, and at last broke like a flood upon Athens. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; no skill could obviate, nor no remedy dispel the terrible infection.

65. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends was fatal to themselves, as it was ineffectual to the unhappy sufferers. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, increased the calamity. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe; while the burning heat of the summer increased the pestilential malignity.

66. They were seen confusedly huddled together, the dead as well as the dying; some crawling through the streets; some lying along by the sides of fountains, whither they had endeavoured to repair, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies; and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death, without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity.

67. It seized all with such violence, that they fell one upon another as they passed along the streets. It was also attended with such uncommon pestilential vapours, that the very beasts and birds of prey, though famishing round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of those who died of it. Even in those who recovered, it left such a tincture of its malignity, that it struck upon their senses. It effaced the notices and memory of all the passages of their lives; and they knew neither themselves nor their nearest relations.

68. The circumstances of this disease are described at large by Thucydides, who was sick of it himself: and he observes, among other effects of it, that it introduced into the city a more licentious way of living: for the people at first had recourse to their gods to avert that judgment; but finding they were all alike infected, whether they worshipped them or not, and that it was generally mortal, they abandoned themselves at once to despair and riot; for since they held their lives but as it were by the day, they were resolved to make the most of their time and money.

69. The cause of it was generally imputed to Pericles, who, by drawing such numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. Yet, though this was raging within, and the enemy wasting the country without, he was still in the same mind as before—that they ought not to put all their hopes upon the issue of a battle. In the mean time, the enemy advancing towards the coast, laid waste the whole country; and returned, after having insulted the wretched Athenians, already thinned by pestilence and famine.

70. Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians: and these carried them on a sudden to their greatest excesses, they soon brought them back within the bounds of moderation and respect. Pericles had been long a favourite; the calamities of the state at last began to render him obnoxious; they had deposed him from the command of the army, but now repented their rashness, and reinstated him a short time after with more than former authority.

71. By dint of suffering they began to bear patiently their domestic misfortunes; and impress with a love for their country,

asked pardon for their former ingratitude. But he did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was seized with the plague, which like a malignant enemy, struck its severest blow at parting. Being extremely ill and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends that had not forsaken him, discoursing in his bed-chamber concerning the loss they were about to sustain, ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories.

72. They did not imagine that Pericles attended to what they said, as he seemed insensible; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him. At last cried he, "Why will you extol a series of actions, in which fortune had the greatest part? There is one circumstance which I would not have forgotten, yet which you have passed over; I could wish to have it remembered as the most glorious circumstance of my life,—that I never yet caused a single citizen to put on mourning."

73. Thus died Pericles, in whom were united a number of excellent qualities without impairing each other. As well skilled in naval affairs as in the conduct of armies; as well skilled in the arts of raising money as of employing it; eloquent in public, and pleasing in private: he was a patron of artists, at once informing them by his taste and example.

74. The most memorable transaction of the following year was the siege of Plataea by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged; and their stratagems to escape the fury of the assailants.

75. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had fixed their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent, the Plataeans sent deputies to the Lacedæmonian general declaring the injustice of injuring them, who had received their liberties on a former occasion from the Lacedæmonians themselves. The Lacedæmonians replied, that there was but one method to insure their safety, which was to-renew that alliance by which they gained their freedom; to disclaim their Athenian supporters, and to unite with the Lacedæmonians, who had power and will to protect them.

76. The deputies replied, they could not possibly come to any agreement, without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither, but the Athenians solemnly promising to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Plataeans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and prepared

for a vigorous defense, with a steady resolution to succeed or fall.

77. Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian general, after calling upon the gods to witness that he did not first infringe the alliance, prepared for the siege with equal perseverance. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid very close together, the branches turned towards the city. He then raised batteries upon them, and formed a terrace sufficient to support his warlike machines. His army worked day and night without intermission, for seventy days; one half of the soldiers reposing themselves while the others were at work.

78. The besieged, observing the works begin to rise around them, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city, opposite the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers. This wall was covered on the outside with hides both raw and dry, in order to shelter it from the besiegers' fires. Thus both walls seemed to vie with each other for superiority, till at last the besieged, without amusing themselves at this work any longer, built another within in the form of a half-moon, behind which they might retire in case their outer works were forced.

79. In the mean time, the besiegers having mounted their engines of war, shook the city wall in a very terrible manner; which, though it alarmed the citizens, did not, however, discourage them; they employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They caught with ropes the heads of the battering rams that were urged against them, and deadened their force with levers.

80. The besiegers, finding their attacks did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place; and, therefore, changed the siege into a blockade, after having vainly attempted to set fire to the city, which was suddenly quenched by a shower.

81. The city was now surrounded by a brick wall, suddenly erected, strengthened on each side by a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively upon this wall, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it; the Boeotians offering to guard the other half whilst the rest of the army returned to Sparta.

82. In this manner the wretched Plataeans were cooped up by a strong wall without any hopes of redress, and only awaited the mercy of the conqueror. There were now in Plataea but four hundred inhabitants, and four score Athenians, with a hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave; all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

83. At last the inhabitants of Plataea having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way through the enemy. But half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and boldness of the enterprise, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; but the rest, who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers, persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner :

84. The besieged first took the heights of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because as the wall stood at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

85. All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city, one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near the wall undiscovered through the darkness of night, not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard.

86. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladder, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers, armed only with javelins that they might mount the easier; and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge.

87. When most of these were got to the top of the wall they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole army approached the wall, without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion: so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts.

88. But a corps, the reserve of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise :

and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the walls for that purpose.

89. In the mean time, those who had mounted first, having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage and keep off the besiegers. Then setting ladders on the top of the wall, betwixt the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by a discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were hastening to the neighbouring towers.

90. Whilst this was doing they had time to set up several ladders; and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up they went down on the other side; and drew up near the fosse, on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down at last, and made to the fosse to follow after the rest. That instant the guard, with three hundred torches, came up.

91. However, as the Plataeans saw their enemies by this light better than they were seen by them, they therefore took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch without being attacked in their passage. However, this was not done without much difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear on account of thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them. After all were passed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat, because it was not likely they had fled towards a city of the enemy.

92. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven stadia, they turned short towards the mountain, and resumed the route to Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived out of two hundred and twenty, who had quitted the place: the rest having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the fosse of contravallation.

93. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp. In the mean time, the Plataeans, who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed, (because those who were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were) sent a herald to demand their dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

94. At the end of the following campaign, the Plataeans being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered upon condition that they should not be punished, till they had been tried and adjudged in form of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon, and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war?

95. The Plataeans were much surprised as well as puzzled at this question; and were sensible that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They, therefore, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium and that of Plataea, and particularly in Lacedæmonia at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves.

96. The only reason they declared for their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose. That if that was imputed to them as a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not, however, entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes," said they, "on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead.

97. "You thought fit to entrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery. And yet you will now give up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans who fought against them at the battle of Plataea? will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? will you destroy the temples of those gods to whom you owed the victory? will you abolish the memory of their founders who contributed so greatly to your safety? on this occasion we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory; and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourselves."

98. One would conclude that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Plataeans: and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon.

99. They stood, therefore, to their first question—whether the Plataeans had done them any service since the war? and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered "No,"

each was immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives who had been taken prisoners were made slaves.

100. The Thebans afterwards peopled the city with exiles from Megara and Plataea, but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Plateans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

101. I pass over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaign, in which the Grecian states mutually destroyed each other, without promoting general happiness, or establishing any common form of government. The fluctuations of success were various. The Athenians took the city of Pylus from the Lacedæmonians; and they, on the other hand, made annual incursions into Attica. More than one overture for a peace was made, but Cleon, who had a great ascendant among the Athenians, prevented their taking effect.

102. The war was, therefore, renewed with all its former animosities. The island of Pylus became the scene of mutual contention. Demosthenes, who afterwards became the celebrated orator, being joined in commission with Cleon, landed on the island, in order to dispossess the Lacedæmonians, who still remained there. They attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island.

103. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible; there they drew up in battle array, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had held the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged their enemy's rear; and promised, if they would give him some troops, armed with missive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a passage.

104. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places, which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage; and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance; and being oppressed with numbers attacked on all sides and dejected through fatigue and

despair, they began to give way, but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat.

105. Cleon and Demosthenes finding, that should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape; and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to desist; and caused a proclamation to be made by a herald for them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion.

106. At these words the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon, and their commander desired leave might be granted him to despatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast, and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms.

107. Upon this they held a conference, after which they surrendered at discretion; and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captains of the galleys.

108. In this battle one hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first, so that there survived not quite three hundred, a hundred and twenty of whom were inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had lasted three-score and twelve days.

109 They all now left Pylus, and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprising circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made; for, it was believed, that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand. Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death.

110. They left the garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and, as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them.

111. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians

being too much elated with their prosperity; and especially their late success, to listen to any terms. For two or three years successively, hostilities were carried on with alternate success; and nothing but the humbling of the one or the other of the two rival states could decide the quarrel. The Athenians made themselves masters of the island of Cythera; but on the other hand were defeated by the Lacedæmonians at Dellion.

112. At length the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expense, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was therefore concluded between them, which being expired, served to pave the way for a more lasting reconciliation. The death of the two generals that commanded the contending armies, served not a little to hasten this event.

113. Brassidas, the Lacedæmonian, was killed as he was conducting a sally, when besieged in Amphipolis; and Cleon, the Athenian, despising an enemy to which he knew himself superior, was set upon unawares, and flying for safety, was killed by a soldier who happened to meet him. Thus, these two men, who had long opposed the tranquillity of Greece, and raised their reputations, but in a very different way, fell a sacrifice to their own ambition.

114. They were, however, men of very opposite characters. Brassidas had courage and conduct, moderation and integrity; and, it was he alone who at this time kept up the sinking reputation of his country. He was the only Spartan since Pausanias, who appeared with any established character among the confederates, to whom he behaved so well, that they were again brought under the dependance of Sparta; and several cities came in to him as their common deliverer from the tyranny of Athens.

115. The inhabitants of Amphipolis, besides their joining with the other allies in solemnizing his funeral in a public manner, instituted anniversary games and sacrifices to his memory as a hero; and so far considered him as their founder, that they destroyed all the monuments which had been preserved as marks of their being an Athenian colony.

116. His opposition to the peace was not so much the effects of his obstinacy, as of a true Spartan zeal for the honour of his country, which he was sensible had been treated by the Athenians with too much insolence and contempt. He had now a fair prospect of bringing them to reason, as he was gaining ground upon them, and every day making fresh conquests, and, however he might be transported with the glory of performing great actions, yet the main end of his ambition seems to have been, the bringing the war to a happy conclusion.

117. I must here not omit the pœnerous answer his mother

made to the persons who brought her the news of his death. Upon her asking them whether he died honourably, they naturally fell into encomiums on his great exploits, and his personal bravery, and preferred him to all the generals of his time; "Yes," said she, "my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has still many citizens braver than he."

118. Cleon was another sort of man. He was rash, arrogant, obstinate, contentious, envious, and malicious, covetous and corrupt; and yet, with all these bad qualities, he had some little arts of popularity which raised and supported him. He made it his business to caress the old men; and as much as he loved money, he often relieved the poor. He had a ready wit, with a way of drollery that took with many, though with the generality it passed for impudence and buffoonery.

119. He had one very refined way of recommending himself, which was, upon his coming into power, to discard all his old friends, for fear it should be thought he would be biassed by them. At the same time he picked up a vile set of sycophants in their room, and made a servile court to the lowest dregs of the people; and yet even they had so bad an opinion of him, that they often declared against him for Nicias, his professed enemy; who, though he took part with the nobility, still preserved an interest in the commons, and was more generally respected.

120. That which Cleon chiefly depended on was his eloquence: but it was a boisterous kind, verbose and petulant, and consisted more in the vehemence of his style and utterance, and the distortion of his action and gesture, than in the strength of his reasoning.

121. By this furious manner of haranguing, he introduced among the orators and statesmen a licentiousness and indecency which were not known before; and which gave rise to the many riotous and disorderly proceedings which were afterwards in the assemblies, when almost every thing was carried by noise and tumult. In the military part of his service he was as unaccountable as in the rest of his conduct. He was not naturally formed for war, and only made use of it as a cloak for his ill practices, and because he could not carry on his other views without it.

122. His taking Sphacteria was certainly a great action, but it was a rash and desperate one; and it has been shown how he was undesignedly drawn into it by a boast of his own. However, he was so elated with the success of that expedition, that he fancied himself a general: and the people were brought to have the same opinion.

123. But the event soon undeceived them; and convinced them that he knew better how to lead in the assembly than in the field. In reality, he was not a man to be trusted in either,

for in the one he was more of a blusterer than of a soldier ; and in the other he had more of an incendiary than of a patriot.

124. The Lacedæmonians were no less inclined to peace than the Athenians ; and were glad to treat at this time, while they could do it with honour ; besides, they had nothing more at heart than the imprisonment of their men taken at Pylus, they being the chief of their city ; and, among other considerations, it was not the least, that the truce which they had made with Argos for thirty years, was just upon expiring.

125. This was a strong and flourishing city, and though it was not of itself a match for Sparta, yet they knew it was far from being contemptible, and that it held too good a correspondence with its neighbours not to make itself capable of giving them a great deal of uneasiness.

126. The matter having been canvassed and debated most of the winter, the Lacedæmonians, to bring the treaty to a conclusion, gave out that they resolved, as soon as the season would permit, to fortify in Attica. Upon which the Athenians grew more moderate in their demands ; and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war, between the two states and their confederates, for fifty years. The chief articles being, that the garrisons should be evacuated, and the town and prisoners restored on both sides.

127. This was called the Nician Peace, because Nicias, who was just the reverse of his rival Cleon, was the chief instrument in it. Besides the tender concern he always expressed for his country, he had more particular ends in it, in securing his reputation. For he had been upon many expeditions, and had generally succeeded in them ; but yet he was sensible how much he owed to his good fortune, and his cautious management ; and he did not care to risk what he had already got for the hopes of more.

CHAPTER X.

From the Peace of Nicias to the end of the Peloponnesian War.

1. EVERY thing now promised a restoration of former tranquillity. The Bœotians and Corinthians were the first that showed signs of discontent, and used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. To obviate any dangers arising from that quarter, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians united in a league offensive and defensive, which served to render them more formidable to their neighbouring states, and more assured with regard to each other. Yet still the former animosities and jealousies fermented

at bottom; and while friendship seemed to gloss over external appearances, fresh discontents were gathering below.

2. The character indeed of Nicias was peaceable, and he did all in his power to persuade the Athenians to cultivate their general tranquillity. But a new promoter of troubles was now beginning to make his appearance; and from him those who wished for peace had every thing to fear. This was no other than the celebrated Alcibiades, the disciple of Socrates, a youth equally remarkable for the beauty of his person and the greatness of his mental accomplishments.

3. The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life. This philosopher observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate; and, indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him.

4. "One would have concluded," says Plutarch, "that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all darts of philosophy, those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory."

5. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates. Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it; he had the most unbounded wit; he was fully sensible of Socrates' extraordinary merit, and could not resist the charms of his sweetly insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure.

6. He was so jealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went; took the utmost delight in his conversation; was extremely well pleased with his principles; received his instructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility; and was so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears and abhor himself: so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so odious a light did he expose the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

7. Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates,

differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the discourses and advice of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities; and tore him as it were from his master, who was obliged to pursue him as a slave who had escaped correction.

8. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disgusted by his levity; and always flattered himself with the hopes of bringing him back to his duty: and hence, certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct: the instructions which his master had given him sometimes prevailing; and, at other times, the fire of his passions hurrying him, in a manner against his own will, into things of a quite opposite nature.

9. Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it; and could not bear a superior, or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic, there was nothing, however, to which he was so fond of owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations. To this, his intimacy with Socrates might be of great service.

10. Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have here described, was not born for repose; and had set every engine at work to traverse the treaty lately concluded, between the two states; but not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them.

11. The first thing he did to infringe the peace was, having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared: he flattered them secretly with the hopes that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

12. Accordingly, he laid hold of this juncture; and improved the pretext the Lacedæmonians had given to exasperate the people, both against them and Nicias; which had so good an effect, that, every thing seemed disposed for a treaty with Argos: of

which the Lacedæmonians being very apprehensive, immediately despatched their ambassadors to Athens, who at first said, what seemed very satisfactory, that they came with full power to concert all matters in difference upon equal terms. The council received their propositions, and the people were to assemble the next day to give them audience.

13. Alcibiades, in the mean while, fearing lest this negotiation should ruin his designs, had a secret conference with the ambassadors; and persuaded them, under a colour of friendship, not to let the people know at first what full powers their commission gave them; but to intimate that they came only to treat and make proposals: for that otherwise they would grow insolent in their demands; and extort from them such unreasonable terms as they could not with honour consent to.

14. They were so well satisfied with the prudence and sincerity of this advice, that he drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himself; and the next day when the people were assembled, and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibiades, with a very obliging air, demanded of them with what powers they were come? They made answer that they were not come as plenipotentiaries. Upon which he instantly changed his voice and countenance, and exclaiming against them as notorious liars, bid the people take care how they transacted any thing with men on whom they could have so little dependance. The people dismissed the ambassadors in a rage; and Nicias, knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded and in disgrace.

15. To redeem his credit, he proposed being sent once more to Sparta: but not being able to gain such terms there as the Athenians demanded, they immediately upon his return struck up a league with the Argives for a hundred years, including the Eleans and Mantineans; which yet did not in terms cancel that with the Lacedæmonians; though it is plain, that the whole intent of it was levelled against them.

16. Upon this new alliance, Alcibiades was declared general; and though his best friends could not commend the method by which he brought about his designs, yet it was looked upon as a great reach in politics, thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus; and to remove the war so far from the Athenian frontier, that even success would profit the enemy but little should they be conquerors: whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itself would be hardly safe.

17. The defection of the confederates began to awaken the jealousy of Sparta: they resolved, therefore, to remedy the evil before it spread too far; wherefore, drawing out their whole force, both of citizens and slaves, and being joined by their allies,

they encamped almost under the walls of Argos. The Argives having notice of their march made all possible preparations, and came out with a full resolution to fight them.

18. But just as they were going to engage, two of their officers went over to Agis, the Spartan king and general, and proposed to him to have the business made up by a reference. He immediately closing with the offer, in order to it, granted them a truce for four months, and drew off his army; the whole affair being transacted by these three, without any general consent or knowledge on either side.

19. The Peloponnesians, though they durst not disobey their orders, inveighed grievously against Agis for letting such an advantage slip as they could never promise to themselves again; for they had actually hemmed in the enemy, and that with the best if not the greatest army that ever was brought into the field. And the Argives were so little apprehensive of danger on their side, that they were no less incensed against their mediators, one of whom they forced to the altars to save his life, and confiscated his goods.

20. Thus every thing seemed to favour the Athenian interest; and their prosperity, for this was the most flourishing period of their duration, blinded them to such a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. In this disposition they resolved to take the first opportunity of adding the island of Sicily to their empire; and soon an occasion offered to their wish.

21. Ambassadors were sent from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinuta, who were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They represented, among other things, that should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing their city, as they had done that of Leontium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponnesians, who were their founders: and, that they might put them to as little charge as possible, they offered to pay the troops that should be sent to succour them.

22. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themselves, sent deputies to Egesta, to inquire into the state of affairs; and to see whether there was money enough in the treasury to defray the expenses of so great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been so artful as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and silver vases, worth an immense sum of money; and of these they made a show when the Athenians arrived.

23. The deputies returned with those of Egesta, who carried three-score talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the galleys,

which they demanded ; and a promise of larger sums, which they said were ready both in the public treasury and in the temples.

24. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves the leisure to examine ; and, seduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made with the view of pleasing them, immediately granted the Egestans their demand ; and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus to command the fleet, with full power not only to succour Egesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic.

25. Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret ; for, besides other motives which made him dread the command, he shunned it because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war, should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldness and wisdom of Nicias.

26. Nicias not daring to oppose Alcibiades openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn particularly from the great expense of this expedition. He declared that since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained.

27. That a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies ; that they must raise an army composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so noble a design ; that besides their fleet which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country, that they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise ; that they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies, with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army ; the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, disposed by inclination, as well as engaged by interest to assist them, with men, arms, horses, and provisions ; whereas, the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country, possessed by their enemies ; where in the winter news could not be brought them in less than four months' time ; a country where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms ; that it would reflect

the greatest ignominy on the Athenians should they be forced to abandon their enterprise ; and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required ; that as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance ; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

28. Nicias had flattered himself that this speech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many galleys as they should judge necessary : and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places, with inexpressible activity.

29. When prepared, they accordingly set sail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, with such ships as were to carry the provisions and warlike stores. All the citizens as well as foreigners in Athens flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus : the former attended by their children, relations, friends and companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life, and who were setting out on a distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they would ever return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful : the foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity, for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet : those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships, but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important.

30. Here were seen a land and naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expense of particular persons, as well as of the public, with all things necessary on account of the length of the voyage and the duration of the war. The city furnished a hundred empty galleys ; that is, three-score light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten pence English for his pay, exclusive of what the captains of ships gave the rowers of the first bench. Add to this the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally, every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gayest in the whole fleet.

31. I shall not take notice of the choice of the soldiers and

seamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage; and more than that of their officers, who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this sight had the air of a pageant, in which the utmost magnificence is displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded its expense and splendour.

32. When the ships were loaded and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition; gold and silver cups were filled everywhere with wine and the accustomed libations were poured out: the people who lined the shore shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success.

33. And now the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they strove to outsail one another, till the whole fleet met at *Ægina*. From thence it made to *Corcyra*; where the army of the allies was assembled with the rest of the fleet.

34. Being now arrived at *Sicily*, the generals were divided in their opinions as to the place where they should make a descent. *Lamachus*, one of the generals, was for making directly for *Syracuse*. He urged, that it was as yet unprovided, and under the greatest consternation; that an army was always most terrible on its approach, before the enemy had time to recollect, and make danger familiar; these reasons, however, were overruled. It was agreed to reduce the smaller cities first; when having detached ten galleys only to take a view of the situation and harbour of *Syracuse*, they landed with the rest of their forces and surprised *Catana*.

35. In the mean time, the enemies of *Alcibiades* had taken occasion from his absence to attack him with redoubled vigour. They aggravated his misconduct in neglecting the proper method of attack; and enforced their accusation by alleging that he had profaned the mysteries of *Ceres*: this was sufficient to induce the giddy multitude to recal their general; but for fear of raising a tumult in the army, they only sent him orders to return to *Athens*, to pacify the people by his presence.

36. *Alcibiades* obeyed the orders with seeming submission; but reflecting on the inconstancy and caprice of his judges, the instant he was arrived at *Thurium*, and had got on shore, he disappeared; and eluded the pursuit of those who sought after him: the galley, therefore, returned without him; and the people in a rage condemned him to death for his contumacy.

37. His whole estate was confiscated ; and all the orders of religion were commanded to curse him. Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to death ; " I hope one day," saith he, " to make them sensible that I am still alive."

38. The Syracusans had by this time put themselves in a posture of defence ; and finding that Nicias did not advance towards them, they talked of attacking him in his camp ; and some of them asked, in a scoffing way, " Whether he was come into Sicily to settle at Catana ?" He was roused by this insult, and resolved to make the best of his way to Syracuse. He durst not attempt it by land for want of cavalry : and he thought it equally hazardous to make a descent by sea upon an enemy who was so well prepared to receive him : however, he chose the latter way and succeeded in it by a stratagem.

39. He had gained a citizen of Catana to go as a deserter to the Syracusans, and inform them that the Athenians lay every night in the town without their arms : and, that early in the morning, on a certain day appointed, they might surprise them ; seize on their camp with all their arms and baggage ; burn their fleet in the harbour, and destroy the whole army.

40. The Syracusans gave credit to him, and marched with all their forces towards Catana : which Nicias had no sooner notice of, but he embarked his troops ; and steering away for Syracuse, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himself in the outskirts of the town. The Syracusans were so provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to Syracuse, and presented themselves without the walls in order of battle.

41. Nicias marched out of his trenches to meet them ; and a very sharp action ensued ; wherein, at length, the Athenians got the better ; and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and sixty of them and their confederates, with the loss of fifty of their own men. They were not as yet in a condition to attack the city, and, therefore, took up their winter quarters at Catana and Naxes.

42. The year following greater projects were undertaken : for having received a supply of horse from Athens, with provisions, and other stores of war, Nicias set sail for Syracuse, in order to block it up by sea and land. In this manner did the little state of Athens spread terror among all the neighbouring states ; and now risen to its utmost height, began to aspire at universal empire.

43. Athens had already been the mistress of arts and philosophy ; it now, with inverted ambition, aimed at setting mankind

an example of the arts of conquest and of war; but they had never considered that a petty state raised artificially into power, is liable to a thousand accidents in its way to conquest.

44. They had now sent out their whole force into Sicily; and while they fought to decide the fate of Syracuse, they were in fact contending for their own; the existence of Athens and Syracuse depended so much on the event of the present invasion, that both sides fought with the utmost perseverance, and historians have been minute in the detail.

45. The siege was now carried on in a more regular and skilful manner than had ever been practised before; and men were taught a new lesson now, as well in the arts of attack as of defence. Nicias found it necessary, in the first place, to gain Epipolæ, a high hill which commanded the city, and had a steep, craggy passage up to it.

46. The Syracusans were so sensible of the importance of this post, that they had ordered a detachment of seven hundred men to march, upon a signal given, to the defence of it; but Nicias had landed his men in a little remote harbour, so secretly and so suddenly, that they easily made themselves masters of it; and the seven hundred, running up from the plains in a confused manner to dispossess them, were repulsed with the loss of three hundred of them and their leader.

47. Nicias built a fort there, as a magazine; and proceeded to invest the town on the land side, so as to prevent any communication with the country. The enemy endeavouring to defeat his works, and render them useless, several skirmishes ensued, wherein the Athenians had generally the better; but, in one of them, Lamachus, being pressed hard, and abandoned by his men, was killed.

48. The Syracusans being still intent on the recovery of Epipolæ, ordered up another detachment thither. Nicias was at this time sick at the fort, and in bed, with only his servants about himself; but when he found the enemy were forcing his entrenchments, he got up, and set fire to the engines and other wood that lay scattered about the fort; which had so good an effect that it served as a signal to his own troops to come up to his relief; and so terrified and confounded those of the enemy, that they retreated into the city.

49. From thenceforth Nicias, who was now sole general, conceived great hopes, for several cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters vessels laden with provisions for his army; all parties being eager to go over to him, because he had acquired the superiority, and been exceedingly successful in all

his undertakings. The Syracusans seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already proposed an accommodation.

50. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their assistance, having heard in his passage the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless, not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preserve to the nations of Italy such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and if this could be done; for fame had declared in all places that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island, and were headed by a general whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible.

51. The fortifications of the Athenians were now almost completed: they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens, towards the great port; and had almost reached it. There now remained on one side only a small part of the wall to be finished; and the Syracusans were upon the brink of ruin; they had no hopes left: they were unable to defend themselves, and they knew not where to look for succours; for this reason, they resolved to surrender, and a council was held to settle the articles of capitulation which were to be presented to Nicias.

52. It was at that very instant, and in this most distressful juncture, that a messenger arrived at Syracuse from Corinth with news of speedy relief. The whole body of citizens flocked round the messenger of such welcome information. He gave them to understand, that Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, would be with them immediately, followed by a great many other galleys which came to his aid. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stupified as it were with this news, could scarce believe what they heard.

53. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach; and ordered them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after taking a fort in his way, marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryclyus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, while the Syracusans should charge them on their side with the forces of Syracuse.

54. The Athenians, exceedingly surprised by his arrival, drew up hastily, and without order, under the wall: with regard to himself, laying down his arms when he approached, he sent word by a herald that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condescend to make the least

answer to this proposal; and some of his soldiers bursting out a laughing, asked the herald whether the presence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and the trifling wand of a herald could make any change in the present state of the city? Both sides, therefore, prepared for battle.

55. Gylippus began by storming the fort of Labdalla, and cutting in pieces all who were found in it. The Athenians, in the mean time, were not idle in forming intrenchments to oppose him, while the besieged were equally assiduous in cutting down and breaking through those walls and circumvallations which were carried round their city. At length, both sides drew up their forces in battle array between the walls which the Athenians had raised to keep off the enemy.

56. In the first engagement, the cavalry of Gylippus being rendered useless from the narrowness of the place, to reanimate his soldiers, by doing them justice, he had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with; and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat, because he made them fight in too narrow a spot of ground. However, he promised soon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and, accordingly, the very next day he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them in the strongest terms to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory.

57. Nicias, perceiving that though he should not desire to come to a battle, it would, however, be absolutely necessary to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near, (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory) therefore marched boldly against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond the place where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; when, charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated their right.

58. We have an instance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing: Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night the victors carried on their wall beyond the wall of contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being able to surround the city.

59. Nicias, had ever since the arrival of Gylippus, been put upon the defensive; and, as he daily lost ground in the country, he retired towards the sea, to keep that open in case of accidents,

and to bring in provisions. For this purpose he possessed himself of Plemmyrium, near the great harbour, where he built three forts, and kept himself up as it were in a garrison. Gylippus took this opportunity to gain over the inland cities ; and, at the same time, arrived the fleet that was expected from Corinth.

60. Nicias, under these circumstances, wrote a very melancholy account of his affairs to Athens ; that the enemy were become so superior to him, that he was not in a condition to force their intrenchments ; and that instead of besieging them, that he was now besieged himself : that the towns revolted from him, the slaves and mercenaries deserted : that his troops were employed in guarding the forts and fetching in provisions, and that in this latter service, many of them were cut off by the enemy's horse.

61. That the fleet was in as bad condition as the army ; and that, in short, without a speedy reinforcement of men, ships, and money, equal to what he had at first set out with, it was in vain to attempt any thing farther : then, as to his own particular, he complained of his being afflicted with sharp nephritic pains, which rendered him incapable of going on with the service ; and therefore pressed to be recalled.

62. The Athenians were so affected with this letter, that they named Eurymedon and Demosthenes to go over with fresh supplies, the former immediately with ten galleys, and the other early in the spring with a stronger force. At the same time they appointed Meander and Euthydemus to act as assistants to Nicias, but would not grant his request of coming home.

63. In the mean time, Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raise in the whole island ; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprise. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas.

64. He observed that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it ; that the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea ; that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity ; that they ought to copy them ; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be equally daring.

65. This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet

was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five galleys of Syracuse, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, which was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium to amaze the Athenians, who would find themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time.

66. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also; and with twenty-five ships sailed to fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels, which were sailing out against them from the great harbour; and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour, one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

67. Those who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment.

68. After this advantage, the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss, for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiously one against the other, as they entered it in disorder; and by this means shifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with pursuing, but also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan galleys were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them were killed.

69. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three; and after towing off those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the centre of their camp.

70. One circumstance which the besieged considered of the greatest importance, was to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the fleet and other succours sent by the Athenians should arrive. They had concerted fresh measures for a battle at sea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the last engagement.

71. The change made in the galleys was, their prows were now shorter, and, at the same time, stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose they fixed great pieces of timber projecting forward on each side of the prows, and to these pieces they joined beams by way of props. The beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without.

72. By this they hoped to gain an advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not

to mention, that should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves, nor to pass between two galleys, in which lay their greatest art, nor to tack about after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the charge; whereas, the Syracusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all these advantages; and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

73. Gylippus, therefore, first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their galleys set sail.

74. Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demosthenes, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he and his troops, who were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it.

75. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demosthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, were eager to perform some exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and if possible eclipse that of the other.

76. The pretence they alleged on this occasion was, the same and reputation of Athens; and they asserted with such vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed, should they shun the battle, as the Syracusans offered it to them, that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy-five galleys, and the Syracusans eighty.

77. The first day the fleets continued in sight of each other in the great harbour, without engaging, and only a few skirmishes passed; after which, both parties retired, while the land forces acted in the same manner. The Syracusans did not make the least motion the second day.

78. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line at some distance from one another, in order that his galleys might retire behind them with safety, in case he should be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing; after which they retired.

79. The Athenians did not suppose they would return; but imagined that fear would make them fly. But having refreshed themselves in great diligence, and returning on board their galleys, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on

board their ships, they entered them in great disorder ; so that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle ; and most of the sailors were fasting.

80. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind their line of transports. The enemy pursued them thither, but were stopped by the yards of those ships, to which were fixed dolphins of lead : these being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleys, would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven galleys in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

81. This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation : all the misfortunes he had met with ever since the time he had enjoyed the supreme command came into his mind ; and he was now involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes' fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as might fill the enemy with dread. It was now the day after the battle.

82. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen. All these galleys were richly trimmed, their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets : Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to strike terror into the enemy.

83. This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities. All they had done hitherto or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, were, however, able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former ; and that their power as well as their courage seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing to increase daily.

84. Demosthenes, having made an exact inquiry into the state of things, imagined it would not be proper for him to lose time, as Nicias had done, who having spread an universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt for his having wintered in Catana, instead of going directly to Syracuse ; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it.

85. He flattered himself with the hopes that he should be

able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it; and by that means should immediately put an end to the war: otherwise he intended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expenses.

86. Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty; but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity for want of provisions as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved. For there were certain persons in Syracuse who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced, be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

87. As Nicias did not explain himself clearly; and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, "are his usual protraction, delays, distracts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately against the enemy; but on the contrary, by deferring to attack them till his own forces were weakened and despired." This made the rest of the generals, and all the officers, come over to Demosthenes' opinion; and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce in it.

88. Demosthenes, after having attacked to no purpose the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that, should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He, therefore, took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it.

89. As there was no going up to it in the day time undiscovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryclus, as before,

unperceived by the sentinels, attacked the first intrenchment, and stormed it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his soldiers from cooling, and to delay the execution of his design, marches forward.

90. During this interval the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, marched under arms out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But, as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprise, they are stopped on a sudden by the Boeotians, who made a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter.

91. This spread an universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled, either force along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of the night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen.

92. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose; and from their often asking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because by their being together, and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it.

93. In the mean time, those who were pursued threw themselves from the top of the rocks; and many were dashed to pieces by the fall: and as most of those who escaped straggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse, who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement; and a great number of arms were taken, those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

94. Soon after Gylippus, having made the tour of Sicily, brought a great number of troops with him, which rendered the affairs of Athens still more desperate; and deprived Nicias of all hopes of success: besides, the Athenian army now began to diminish exceedingly by sickness; and nothing seemed to remain,

but their quitting an island in which they had experienced every mortification. Nicias no longer opposed the resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

95. When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon) the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendour, which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it.

96. They then consulted the soothsayers, who being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom, after such accidents had happened to suspend their enterprise but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not sail till three times nine days were past, (these were Thucydides' words) which was doubtless a mysterious number in the opinion of the people.

97. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared, that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month, as if he had not seen the planet very clearly, the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

98. But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians soon spread over the city; a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack, and at the same time sailed with seventy-six galleys against eighty-six of the Athenians.

99. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him; for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the centre, attacked him; drove him vigorously into the gulf called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement.

100. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the galleys, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into the stoccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be

forced to run ashore, and give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they should have taken : however he was repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side, and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss, as far as a moor which lay near it.

101. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials, and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship. Each side erected trophies ; the Syracusans for the death of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before ; the Athenians, for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight.

102. But the minds of the two nations were very differently opposed : the Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hopes, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies ; the Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome at sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

103. The enemy, to deprive them of all resource, and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed crosswise, and other vessels fixed with anchors and iron chains ; and at the same time made the requisite preparations for a battle, in case they should have courage to engage again.

104. When the Athenians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire ; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea : this made them resolve to venture a sea fight.

105. In this view they were determined to leave their old camp and their walls ; and to intrench themselves on the shore near the ships, in the smallest compass possible : their design was to leave some forces in that place to guard the baggage and their sick ; and to fight with the rest aboard all the ships they should have saved. They intended to retire into Catana in case they should be victorious ; otherwise to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

106. This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled a hundred and ten galleys (the others having lost their oars) with the flower of his infantry, and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan galleys, Nicias had provided harping irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight as on shore.

107. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their galleys with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men, and none could ever have been prompted with stronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought was to determine not only their lives and liberties, but also the fate of their country.

108. This battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those ships which defended the entrance of it; but when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred galleys came rushing on each side in a narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion; and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, or turn about to renew the attack.

109. The beaks of the galleys for this reason did very little execution, but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones, which always did execution from what place soever they were thrown; whereas, they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which by the motion of the ships, from the agitation of the sea, did not carry true, and by that means the greatest part of them did little execution. Ariston, the pilot, had given the Syracusans this counsel.

110. These discharges being over, the soldiers heavily armed attempted to enter the enemy's ships, in order to fight hand to hand; and it often happened that whilst they were climbing up one side, their own ships were entered on the other, and two or three ships were grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Farther, the noise of the ships, that dashed one against the other; the different cries of the victors and the vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard.

111. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory.

112. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls, whilst the rest kneeling in their temples were imploring heaven to give success to their fellow-citizens: all these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed, and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror.

113. Attentive to, and shuddering at every movement, and the several changes which happened, they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures; stretching out their hands sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, at other times towards heaven to implore the succour and protection of the gods.

114. At last the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long battle and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight and drove against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed the news to the whole city by an universal shout. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy; whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

115. There now remained but two methods for them to choose, either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy and retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the former; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was, therefore, resolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

116. But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape, since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were at that time in the midst of their festivity and rejoicings; and meditating nothing but how they might divert themselves after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnising the festival of Hercules.

117. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again in order to pursue the enemy, and to attempt to draw them from their diversions, either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose, for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass

for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud, "Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light, for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on their passes."

118. This false advice stopped Nicias at once; and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence, and abandon the rest.

119. The enemy had time enough for seizing the avenues. The next morning early they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes; fortified those places where the rivers were fordable; broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain; so that there was not one place which the Athenians could pass without fighting.

120. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with a design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see such great numbers of men either dead or dying; some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy.

121. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them with tears to take them along with the army; and held by their clothes when they were going: or else, crawling after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit: and, when this failed, had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods, as well as men, to avenge their cruelty, whilst every place echoed with lamentations.

122. The whole army was in a deplorable condition. All the Athenians were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen; the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape.

123. They could not bear the comparison, for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in which they had left Athens in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people, with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

124. But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias; dejected and worn out by a tedious illness, deprived of the most necessary stores, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most; pierced not only with his private grief but that of others: all which preyed upon his heart.

125. However, this great man, superior to all his evils, thought

of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud that their situation was not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned: that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them; that their bravery and numbers made them still formidable: (being still near forty thousand strong) that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do but to take care of themselves, and march in good order: that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

126. The army now marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the centre. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced their passage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days' march, every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way.

127. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army which despair alone might render invincible; and the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former proceeded in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

128. Demosthenes and Nicias seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched; and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana as they first intended.

129. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the vanguard, commanded by Nicias, went forward in good order, but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, quitted from the main body and lost their way.

130. On the next day, the Syracusans, who on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmost diligence, came up

with them about noon; and having surrounded him with their horse, drove him into a narrow place inclosed with a wall, where his soldiers fought like lions.

131. Perceiving at the close of the day that they were oppressed with fatigue and covered with wounds, the conquering Syracusans gave the islanders leave to retire, which some of them accepted; and they afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion, with Demosthenes, after having stipulated that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

132. Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, and passing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias could not persuade himself at first that what they told him concerning Demosthenes was true; and therefore desired leave to send some horse for information.

133. Upon their returning with the news that Demosthenes had really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expenses of the war, upon condition they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages as they should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence; and renewed the attack.

134. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, however, sustained the charge the whole night; and marched towards the river Asinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans advancing up to them, threw most of them into the stream, the rest already having plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirst. Here the greatest and most bloody havoc was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the least pity as they were drinking.

135. Nicias, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered, upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians seemed to have been displeased with their general for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and, for this reason, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.

136. The victors, adorned with the arms taken from the prisoners, the finest and largest trees they could find on the banks of the river; and made a kind of trophies of those trees, when,

crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having happily terminated the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won by their strength and valour a most signal and most complete victory.

137. The next day a council was held to deliberate on what was to be done with the prisoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of the greatest authority among the people, proposed that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned, and only two measures of flour and one of water given them daily: that the slaves and all the allies should be publicly sold; and the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

138. This last article was exceedingly disliked by all wise and compassionate Syracusans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people; but they would not hear him; and the shouts which echoed on all sides, prevented him from continuing his speech.

139. At that instant, an ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who in this war had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the instant he appeared a profound silence was made. "You here behold," says he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracusan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two sons, who formed all the consolation, and were the only supports of my old age.

140. "I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing to their country's welfare a life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart; nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children; but, however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible of my private affliction than of the honour of my country; and I see it exposed to eternal infamy by the barbarous advice which is now given you.

141. "The Athenians, indeed, merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that can be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them, and revenged us sufficiently? When their general laid down his arms and surrendered,

did he not do this in hopes of having their lives spared; and if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach of our having violated the laws of nations, and dishonoured our victory by an unheard-of cruelty? How will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world; and have it said that a nation who first dedicated a temple in this city to Clemency, had not found any in yours?

142. "Sarely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy; the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and insolent pride, will ever insure it.

143. "You doubtless have not forgot that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians; and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from embarking in this war; should you, therefore, pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interest? With regard to myself, death would be less grievous to me than the sight of so horrid an injustice committed by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."

144. The people seemed moved with compassion at this speech; especially, when this venerable old man first ascended, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians having expatiated with vehemence on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies; the inveteracy which the commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose names could be appeased no other way than by the blood of their murderers.

145. These representations prevailed, and the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles' advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him (especially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon; but his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

146. All wise and compassionate men could not forbear shedding tears at the tragical fate of two such illustrious personages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed

least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made to prevent the war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion, the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against Providence, in seeing that a man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them; and meet with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches.

147. The prisoners were shut up in the prisons of Syracuse; where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torment for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the cold of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrement, by the carcasses of those who died of their wounds and of sickness, and worn out by hunger and thirst; for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water and two of meal.

148. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves, many of whom were citizens, who had concealed their condition, found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty were of great advantage to them, for they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Eurypides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; so that when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verses.

149. The news of the defeat being carried to Athens the citizens would not believe it at first; and were so far from giving credit to the report, that they sentenced that man to death who first published the tidings: but, when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; and, as if themselves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and resentment against the orators who had promoted the enterprise, as well as against the soothsayers, who by their supposed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success.

150. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as now, having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners. In a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elated with so great a victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade

Athens both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe, speaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that in this harbour the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.

151. The Athenians, however, did not suffer themselves to be wholly dejected, but resumed courage. They now resolved to raise money on all sides; and to import timber for building ships; in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa. They retrenched all superfluous expenses; and established a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they should be proposed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of service in the present conjuncture; the alarm which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and sedulous to all advice that might promote its interests.

152. Such was the event of the siege of Syracuse, the failure of which destroyed the power of those that had undertaken it. We have hitherto seen Athens rising in arts and arms, giving lessons both in politics, humanity, philosophy, and war, to all the nations round, and beginning to fix an empire, which if once established, no neighbouring power could overthrow. But their ambition grew faster than their abilities, and their views extending beyond their capacity to execute, they fell at once from that height to which for ages they had been assiduously aspiring.

153. We are now, therefore, to be presented with a different picture: we are no longer to view this little state panting for conquests over other nations, but timorously defending itself at home: we are no longer to view Athens taking the lead in the councils, and conducting the confederate armies of Greece; they now become in a measure annihilated; they fade from the eye of the historian, and other nations, whose names have hitherto been scarcely mentioned, emerge from obscurity. The rashness of this enterprise was severely punished in the loss of their best generals, fleets, and armies; all now was destroyed or left at the mercy of those whom they had so unseasonably undertaken to subdue.

154. Their allies began now to think of throwing off their yoke: and even those who had stood neuter took this occasion to declare against them. But the Lacedæmonians, being more particularly elevated, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; so the winter was spent in preparations on both sides. The Athenians, in their present distress, scarce knew where to turn; many of their allied cities revolted: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that by placing their forces and fleets at Samos, they

reduced such states as had abandoned them to their former obedience, and kept the rest in their duty : thus still struggling with a part of their former spirit, they kept themselves in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages.

155. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed among the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments ; and to let them know that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos with a design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of the Persians, with whom he had taken refuge, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government ; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

156. The chief man who opposed his return was Phrynicus, one of the generals, who, to compass his designs, sent word to Astyocus, the Lacedæmonian general, that Alcibiades was treating with Tissaphernes, to bring him over to the Athenian interest. He offered farther to betray to him the whole army and navy of the Athenians. But his treasonable practices being all detected by the good understanding betwixt Alcibiades and Astyocus, it was laid aside, and he was afterwards stabbed in the market-place.

157. In the mean time, the Athenians went eagerly forward to complete that change of government which had been proposed to them by Alcibiades : the democracy began to be abolished in several cities of Athens ; and, soon after, the scheme was carried boldly forward by Lysander, who was chiefly concerned in this transaction. To give a new form to this government, he caused ten commissaries, with absolute power, to be appointed, who were, however, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done.

158. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation for infringing the law, or consequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose, five presidents were established, who nominated one hundred persons, including themselves. Each of these chose and associated

three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged.

159. But to amuse the people, and to console them with a shadow of popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens to assist them, when they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual, nothing was done, however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost a hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

160. This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by a hundred and twenty young men, whom they made use of when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremony upon such occasions.

161. They did not think proper to recal those who were banished, lest they should authorise the return of Alcibiades, whose uncontrollable spirit they apprehended, and who would soon make himself master of the people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, they put some to death, others they banished and confiscated their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexts; and those were intimidated who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred soon after their establishment sent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to their establishment.

162. The army, in the mean time, which was at Samos, protested against those proceedings in the city; and at the persuasion of Thrasybulus, recalled Alcibiades, and created him general, with full power to sail directly to the Pyræus and crush this new tyranny. Alcibiades, however, would not give way to this rash opinion, but went first to show himself to Tissaphernes, and let him know that it was now in his power to treat him as a friend or an enemy. By which means he awed the Athenians with Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes with the Athenians. When, afterwards, the four hundred sent to Samos to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the messengers to death, and persisted in the design upon the Pyræus; but Alcibiades, by opposing it, manifestly saved the commonwealth.

163. In the mean while, the innovation in Athens had occasioned such factions and tumults, that the four hundred were more

intent upon providing for their safety than prosecuting the war. In order to which they fortified that part of the Pyræus which commands the mouth of the haven; and resolved in case of extremity, rather to let in the Lacedæmonians than expose their persons to the fury of their fellow-citizens. The Spartans took occasion from these disturbances, to hover about with forty-two galleys under the conduct of Hegesandrides; and the Athenians with thirty-six under Timochares, were forced to engage them, but lost part of their fleet, and the rest were dispersed. To add to which, all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted to the Peloponnesians.

164. This failure of success served to give the finishing blow to the power of the four hundred. The Athenians without delay, deposed them as the authors of all their troubles and divisions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But judging that if he returned immediately to Athens he should owe his recall to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit.

165. For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of ships, he cruised about the island of Cos and Cnidos; and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed to the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos, in a battle which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side.

166. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon them, and put them to flight; and animated by his success, sunk their vessels and made a great slaughter of their soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea to save themselves by swimming. The Athenians having taken thirty of their galleys, and retaken those they had lost, erected a trophy.

167. Alcibiades after the victory went to visit Tissaphernes, who was so far from receiving him as he expected, that he immediately caused him to be seized, and sent away prisoner to Sardis, telling him he had orders from the king to make war against the Athenians; but the truth is, he was afraid of being accused to his master by the Peloponnesians, and thought by this act of injustice to purge himself from all former imputations.

168. Alcibiades, after thirty days, made his escape to Clazomenes; and soon after bore down upon the Peloponnesian fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of Cyzicus. With twenty

of his best ships he broke through the enemy, pursued those who abandoned their ships and fled to land, and made a great slaughter. The Athenians took all the enemies' ships, made themselves masters of Cyzicus, while Mingimis, the Lacedæmonian general, was found among the number of the slain.

169. Alcibiades well knew how to make use of the victory he had gained; and at the head of his conquering forces took several cities which had revolted from the Athenians. Chalcedon, Salymbria, and Byzantium were among the number. Thus, flushed with conquest, he seemed to desire nothing so ardently as to be once more seen by his countrymen, as his presence would be a triumph to his friends, and an insult to his enemies.

170. Accordingly, being recalled, he set sail for Athens. Besides the ships covered with bucklers and spoils of all sorts in the manner of trophies, a great number of vessels also were towed after him by way of triumph; he displayed also the ensigns and ornaments of those he had burnt, which were more than the others, the whole amounting to about two hundred ships.

171. It is said, that reflecting on what had been done against him, upon approaching the port, he was struck with some terror, and was afraid to quit his vessel till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the shore to receive him, and earnestly entreated him to land. As soon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him, fixed their eyes upon him; thronged about him; saluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands: he received their congratulations with great satisfaction: he desired to be discharged from his former condemnation, and obtained from the priests an absolution from all their former denunciations.

172. Yet notwithstanding these triumphs, the real power of Athens was now no more: the strength of the state was gone: and even the passion for liberty was lost in the common degeneracy of the times: many of the meaner sort of the people passionately desired that Alcibiades would take the sovereignty upon him; they even desired him to set himself above the reach of envy, by securing all power in his own person: the great, however, were not so sanguine in their gratitude, they were content with appointing him generalissimo of all their forces: they granted him whatever he demanded, and gave him for colleagues the generals most agreeable to him.

173. He set sail accordingly with a hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros that had revolted; where, having defeated the inhabitants, he went from thence to Samos, intending to make that the seat of the war. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at his success, made choice of a general,

supposed to be capable of making head against him : for this reason they fixed upon Lysander, who, though born of the highest family, had been bred up to hardships, and paid an entire respect to the discipline and manners of his country.

174. He was brave and aspiring, and, like his countrymen, sacrificed all sorts of pleasures to his ambition. He had an evenness and sedateness of temper, which made all conditions of life sit easy on him, but withal was extremely insinuating, crafty and designing, and made his interest the only measure of truth and falsehood. This deceitful temper was observed to run through the whole course of his life ; upon which occasion it was said that he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury : and it was a maxim of his own, that when the lion fails we must make use of the fox.

175. Lysander, having brought his army to Ephesus, gave orders for assembling ships of burden from all parts, and erected an arsenal for building of galleys ; he made the ports free for merchants ; gave public places to artificers ; put all arts in motion ; and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundation of that magnificence which it afterwards obtained.

176. Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice that Cyrus, the Persian prince, was arrived at Sardis ; he therefore set out from Ephesus to make him a visit, and to complain of Tissaphernes, whose duplicity and treachery had been fatal to their common cause. Cyrus, who had a personal enmity to that general, came into the views of Lysander, agreed to increase the seamen's pay, and to give him all the assistance in his power.

177. The largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemies' galleys ; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair, upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes ; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding the satrap represented that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandise the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one side with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

178. Alcibiades, on the other hand, having occasion to leave the fleet, in order to raise the supplies, gave the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express command not to engage or attack the enemy in his absence. Antiochus, however, was willing to do some action that might procure him favour without a partner in the glory : he was so far, therefore, from observing the orders that were given him, that he presently sailed away

for Ephesus ; and, at the very mouth of the harbour, used every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement..

179. Lysander at first manned out a few ships to repel his insults ; but as the Athenian ships advanced to support Antiochus, other galleys belonging to the Lacedæmonians also came on, till both fleets arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lysander at length was victorious : Antiochus was slain, and fifteen galleys were taken. It was in vain that Alcibiades soon after came up to the relief of his friends ; it was in vain that he offered to renew the combat ; Lysander, content with the victory he had gained, was unwilling again to trust to fortune.

180. The fickle multitude of Athens, again, therefore, began to accuse Alcibiades of insufficiency. He who was just before respected even to adoration, was now discarded upon a groundless suspicion that he had not done his duty. But it was the glory he had obtained by his past services that now ruined him ; for his continual success had begot in the people such an opinion of him, that they thought it impossible for him to fail in any thing he undertook ; and, from thence his enemies took occasion to question his integrity, and to impute to him both his own and other mis-carriages.

181. Callicratides was appointed to succeed Lysander, whose year was expired ; alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans, virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proofs against all things ; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falsehood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul.

182. The first attempt of the admiral was against Methyma, in Lesbos, which he took by storm. He then threatened Conon, who was appointed general of the Athenians, that he would make him leave *debauching* the sea ; and accordingly soon after pursued him into the port of Mytilene with a hundred and seventy sail, took thirty of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions.

183. He soon after took ten ships more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the Athenians had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, he left fifty of his ships under Etonicus, to carry on the siege of Mytilene, and with a hundred and twenty more met the Athenians at Arginusæ, over against Lesbos.

184. His pilot advised him to retreat for that the enemy was

superior in number. He told him that Sparta would be never the worse inhabited though he were slain. The fight was long and obstinate, until at last the ship of Callicratides, charging through the enemy was sunk, and the rest fled. The Peloponnesians lost about seventy sail, and the Athenians twenty-five, with most of the men in them.

185. The Athenian admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, instead of being rewarded for so signal a victory, were made a barbarous instance of the power and ingratitude of their fellow-citizens. Upon a relation of the fight before the senate, it was alleged they had suffered their men who were shipwrecked to be lost, when they might have saved them ! upon which they were clapped in irons, in order to answer it to the people.

186. They urged in their defence, that they were pursuing the enemy, and, at the same time, gave orders about taking up the men to those whose business it more peculiarly was, particularly to Theramenes, who was now their accuser : but yet that their orders could not be executed by reason of a violent storm which happened at that time. This seemed so reasonable and satisfactory that several stood up and offered to bail them ; but, in another assembly, the popular incendiaries demanded justice, and so awed the judges, that Socrates was the only man who had courage enough to declare he would do nothing contrary to law, and accordingly refused to act.

187. After a long debate, eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them were put to death, among whom was Pericles, son of the great Pericles. He declared that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up : that if any one were guilty, it was he, who being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution ; but that he accused nobody, and that the tempest which came on unexpectedly at the very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt.

188. He demanded that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence wherein the lives of the most illustrious of the citizens were concerned : that it was in some measure attacking the gods, to make men responsible for the winds and weather : that they could not without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them : that if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed by a sudden, but vain repentance.

which would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal shame and infamy.

189. Among the number also was Diomedon, a person equally eminent for his valour and his probity, as he was carrying to execution he demanded to be heard. "Athenians," said he, "I wish the sentence you have passed upon us, may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to ask of you: in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them: for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy."

190. There was not a good citizen that did not melt into tears at this discourse, so full of goodness and religion, and admire with surprise the moderation of a person, who seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not, however, vent the least resentment, or even complaint against his judges, but was solely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country which had doomed them to perish) upon what he owed to the gods, in common with them, for the victory they had lately obtained.

191. This complication of injustice and ingratitude seemed to give the finishing blow to the affairs of the Athenian state; they struggled for a while after their defeat at Syracuse; but from hence they were entirely sunk, though seemingly in the arms of victory.

192. The enemy, after their last defeat, had once more recourse to Lysander, who had so often led them to conquest; on him they placed their chief confidence, and ardently solicited his return. The Lacedæmonians, to gratify their allies, and yet to observe their laws, which forbade that honour being conferred twice on the same person, sent him with an inferior title, but with the power of admiral.

193. Thus appointed, Lysander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampsacus: the place was carried by storm, and abandoned by Lysander to the mercy of the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, upon the news of his success, steered forward towards Olestus; and, from thence sailing along the coast, halted over against the enemy at Ægos Potamos, a place fatal for the Athenians.

194. The Hellespont is not above two thousand paces broad in that place. The two armies seeing themselves so near each other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next. But Lysander had another design in view; he commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next

morning at break of day; to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders in profound silence.

195. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morning, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement.

196. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore till two or three galleys which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired their with a high contempt for an army which fear prevented from showing themselves, or attempting any thing.

197. Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse and came to the Athenian generals, to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their pleasure, whilst the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal.

198. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall upon them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wise and salutary counsel; as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

199. The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle, retiring in the evening according to custom with more insulking airs than the days before. Lysander, as usual, detached some galleys to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence when they saw the Athenians landed, and to put a brown buckler at each ship's head, as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself, in the

mean time, ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

200. As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ships' heads, and the admiral's galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forward in good order. The land army, at the same time, made all possible haste to the top of the promontory to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents in this place is about fifteen stadia, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which space was presently cleared, through the activity and diligence of the rowers.

201. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived from shore the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and perplexity, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys: but all his endeavours and emotions were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides.

202. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were run to the sutlers; some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others to begin to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who, not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose, and gave their soldiers the same liberty.

203. The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries, and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship, he stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians falling upon the rest of the fleet took immediately the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them.

204. Lysander took three thousand prisoners with all the generals, and the whole fleet, after having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemies' galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampsacus amidst the sounds of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss; and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted seven and twenty years, and which, perhaps, without him, had been of a much longer continuance. Lysander immediately sent despatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

205. The three thousand prisoners taken in this battle having

been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice; and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike; and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar.

206. Lysander, therefore, caused him to be brought forth, and asked him what sentence he would pass upon himself for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer, "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges, but as you are victors use your right, and do by us as we had done by you if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath; put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

207. When the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens, by a ship which arrived in the night at the Pyræus, the city was in consternation. They naturally expected a siege; and, in fact, Lysander was preparing to besiege them. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates; they represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted, to repair the breaches in the walls, and mount guard to prepare against the siege.

208. Their fears were soon confirmed by reality. Lysander, finding numbers of Athenians dispersed in different cities, commanded them all on the pain of death to take shelter in Athens. This he did with a design so to crowd the city as to be able soon to reduce it by famine. In effect, he soon after arrived at the port of Athens with a hundred and fifty sail. While Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced with their army to besiege it by land.

209. The wretched Athenians, thus hemmed in on every side, without provisions, ships or hopes of relief, prepared to meet the last extremity with patience; in this manner, without speaking the least word of a capitulation, and dying in the streets by hun-

bers they obstinately continued on the defensive; but, at length, their corn and provisions being entirely consumed, they found themselves compelled to send deputies to Agis, with offers of abandoning all their possessions, their city and port only excepted.

210. The haughty Lacedæmonian referred their deputies to the state itself, and when the suppliant deputies had made known their commissions to the ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals, if they expected peace.

211. At length, Theramenes, an Athenian, undertook to manage the treaty with Lysander; and after three months of close conference, he received full power to treat at Lacedæmon. When he, attended by nine others, arrived before the ephori, it was there strongly urged by some of the confederates, that Athens should be totally destroyed, without hearkening to any further proposals.

212. But the Lacedæmonians told them they would not destroy a city which had so eminently rescued Greece in the most critical juncture: that the long walls and the Pyræus should be demolished: that they should deliver up all their ships but twelve: that they should restore all their exiles: that they should make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, and serve them in all their expeditions both by sea and land.

213. Theramenes, being returned with the articles to Athens, was asked why he acted so contrary to the intentions of Themistocles, and gave those walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them? "I have my eye," says he, "upon Themistocles' design; he raised these walls for the preservation of the city, and I for the very same reason would have them destroyed; for if walls only secure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very ill condition."

214. The Athenians, at another time, would not have thought this a satisfactory answer, but being reduced to the last extremity, it did not admit of a long debate whether they should accept the treaty. At last, Lysander coming up the Pyræus, demolished the walls with great solemnity, and all the insulting triumphs of music. Thus a final period was put to this unhappy war, which had continued seven and twenty years, in which heaps of treasure and a deluge of blood were exhausted.

CHAPTER XI.

From the Demolition of the Athenian Power to the Death of Socrates.

215. THE victory of Lysander was so terrible a shock to Athens, that it only survived to be sensible of the loss of its own power;

however, the conquerors were so generous as not to extinguish the name; they said they would not be guilty of putting out one of the eyes of Greece; but they imposed some farther marks of conquest on them; they obliged the people to demolish the democracy and submit to the government of thirty men, who were commonly known by the name of the thirty tyrants.

2. Though the Greeks were apt enough to give that name to men of virtuous characters, these men, who were the creatures of Lysander, in every respect deserved the most opprobrious denomination: instead of compiling and publishing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence of their being chosen, they began to exert their power of life and death: and though they constituted a senate and other magistrates, they made no farther use of them than to confirm their authority, and to see their commands executed.

3. However, they at first acted cautiously, and condemned only the most detested and scandalous part of the citizens, such as lived by evidencing and informing: but this was only to give a colour to their proceedings: their design was to make themselves absolute; and, knowing that was not to be done without a foreign power, their next step was to desire that a guard might be sent them from Sparta, until such time as they could clear the city of all disaffected persons, and thoroughly settle the government.

4. Lysander accordingly procured them a guard under the command of Callibius, who, by bribes and artifices was brought over to their designs; and then, they were seen to act without control, filling the city with the blood of those, who on account of their riches, interest, or good qualities, were most likely to make head against them.

5. One of the first acts of their cruelty was in procuring the death of Alcibiades, who had taken refuge in the dominions of Persia. This unfortunate general, still mindful of the debt he owed his country, employed his utmost attention in giving it the earliest notices of what could affect its freedom or its safety. Cyrus, the prince of Persia, having resolved to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians to assist him in his designs.

6. Alcibiades did all that was in his power to obstruct the scheme; but the Lacedæmonian partisans at Athens, that is to say, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of so superior a genius as his; and represented to their masters that they were inevitably ruined if they did not find means to rid themselves of Alcibiades.

7. The Lacedæmonians, thereupon wrote to Pharnabazus, and with an abject meanness not to be excused, and which show-

ed how much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient manners, made pressing instances to him to deliver them at any rate from so formidable an enemy. This satrap complied with their wishes. Alcibiades was then in a small town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine Timandra. Those who were sent to kill him, not daring to enter his house, contented themselves with surrounding and setting it on fire.

8. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, sword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to stay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him from a distance, and he fell dead upon the spot. Timandra took up his body and having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it as her present condition would admit.

9. Such was the end of Alcibiades, whose great virtues were stifled and suppressed by still greater vices. It is not easy to say whether his good or bad qualities were more pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppressed it. In him distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. His person was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind.

10. He loved glory, but without prejudice to his inclination for pleasure; nor was he so fond of pleasure as to neglect his glory for it: he knew how to give into or obstruct himself from the allurements of luxury, according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his; he metamorphosed himself with incredible facility into the most contrary forms; and supported them all with as much ease and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

11. In this manner the thirty proceeded, and fearing to be opposed by the multitude, they invested three thousand citizens with some part of their power, and by their assistance preserved the rest. But thoroughly emboldened by such an accession to their party, they agreed to single out every one his man, to put them to death, and seize their estates for the maintenance of their garrison. Theramenes, one of their number, was the only man that was struck with horror at their proceedings: wherefore Critias the principal author, thought it necessary to remove him, and accused him to the senate of endeavouring to subvert the state.

12. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was obliged to drink the juice of hemlock, the usual mode of execution then in Athens. Socrates, whose disciple he had been, was the only person of the senate who ventured to appear in his defence; he made an attempt to rescue him out of the hands of

the officer of justice, and after his execution went about as it were in defiance of the thirty, exhorting and animating the senators and citizens against them.

13. The tyrants delivered from a colleague, whose presence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer observed any measures. Nothing passed throughout the city but imprisonments and murders. Every body trembled for themselves or their friends. The general desolation had no remedy, nor was there any hopes of regaining lost liberty.

14. All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained a love of freedom, quitted a place reduced to so hard and shameful a slavery, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat where they might live in safety. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive those unhappy fugitives of this last resource.

15. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge: decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants; and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance—Megara and Thebes, the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatsoever that should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmost to assist him. Lysias, an orator of Syracuse, who had been banished by the thirty, raised five hundred soldiers at his own expense, and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.

16. Thrasybulus, a man of admirable character, who had long deplored the miseries of his country, was now the first to relieve it. At Thebes he fell into a consultation with his fellow-citizens, and the result was, that some vigorous effort, though it carried ever so much danger, ought to be made for the benefit of the public liberty. Accordingly, with a party of thirty men only, as Nepos says, but, as Xenophon more probably says, of near seventy, he seized upon Phyle, a strong castle on the frontiers of Attica.

17. This enterprise gave the alarm to the tyrants, who immediately marched out of Athens with their three thousand followers, and their Spartan guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulsed with loss. Finding they could not carry it by a sudden assault, they resolved upon a siege; but not being sufficiently provided for that service, and a great snow falling that night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard to prevent any further excursions into the country.

18. Encouraged by this success, Thrasybulus no longer kept himself confined, but marched out of Phyle by night, and at the

head of a body of a thousand men seized on the Pyrræans. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle sufficiently warm ensued; but as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect, for the power of their oppressors, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause; the tyrants were overthrown; Critias was killed upon the spot; and as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thrasybulus cried out, "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor rather than assist me as an avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens, nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants."

19. He continued with bidding them remember, that they had the same origin, country, laws and religion: he exhorted them to compassionate their exiled brethren; to restore to them their country, and resume their liberty themselves. This discourse had suitable effects: the army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and substituted ten persons to govern in their room, but whose conduct proved no better than that of those whom they succeeded.

20. Though the government was thus altered, and the thirty were deposed from power, they still had hopes of being reinstated in their former authority, and sent messengers to Lacedæmon to demand aid. Lysander was for granting it to them, but Pausanias, who then reigned in Sparta, moved with compassion at the deplorable condition of the Athenians, favoured them in secret, and obtained a peace for them: it was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who having taken arms to reinstate themselves in the government, were put to the sword, and Athens left in full possession of its liberty.

21. Thrasybulus then proposed an amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all past actions should be buried in oblivion, and the government was re-established in its ancient forms: their laws were restored to their past vigour: the magistrates elected with the usual ceremonies; and democracy was once more restored to this unfortunate people. Xenophon observes, that this intestine fury had consumed as many in eight months, as the Peloponnesian war had done in ten years.

22. Upon the re-establishment of affairs in Athens, the other states enjoyed the same tranquillity, or rather kept in a quiet subjection to Sparta, which now held the undoubted sovereignty of Greece. But it being a maxim with the Spartans that this sovereignty was not to be maintained but by a constant course of action, they were still seeking fresh occasions for war; and part of their forces, together with another body of Grecians, being at

this time engaged in a quarrel between the Persian king and his brother, it will be necessary to pass over into Asia, and relate so much of the Persian affairs as concerns the expedition of Cyrus, wherein those forces were employed; especially since it is attended with circumstances which if duly considered, will easily make it pass for one of the greatest actions of antiquity.

23. It has been already observed, that Cyrus, the son of Darius Nothus, saw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne; and more than once attempted to remove him. Artaxerxes was not insensible of what he had to fear from a brother of this enterprising and ambitious spirit: but could not refuse pardoning him on the prayers and tears of his mother Parysatis, who doated upon this youngest son. He removed him, therefore into Asia, to his government, confiding in him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an absolute authority over the provinces left him by the will of the king his father.

24. He was no sooner appointed in this manner, but he used all his arts with the barbarians and the Grecians, to procure power and popularity, in order to dethrone his brother. Clearches retired to his court, after having been banished from Sparta, and was of great service to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At the same time, several cities in the provinces of Tissaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus.

25. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between the two brothers. The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions among the people to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the state required a king of Cyrus's character; a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that served him; and that it was necessary for the grandeur of the empire, to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valor for the support and augmentation of his glory.

26. The troops of Cyrus, which were apparently levied for the business of the state, but in fact to overturn it, consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Peloponnesian troops, was the only man of all the Greeks that was let into the Persian prince's design; he made it his sole application to gain the affections of his people during their marches, by treating them with great humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they should want for nothing. The Grecian troops knew neither the intent nor the occasion of the war: they set out for Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Asia.

27. When they were arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to march any farther, rightly suspecting that they were intended against the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this commotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very ill success, and desisted therefore from an open opposition to their sentiments: he even affected to enter into their views and to support them with his approbation and credit.

28. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and made them easy; and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprised of every thing, made answer, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, his enemy, at twelve days' march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay.

29. Cyrus, instead of one daric a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half. Still to ingratiate himself the more, being told that two officers had deserted from the army, and being advised to pursue and put them to death, he declared publicly, that it should never be said he had detained any one person in his service against his will; and he ordered their wives and children, who were left as hostages in his army, to be sent after them. A conduct so wise and apparently generous, had a surprising effect in conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and made even those his firm adherents who were before inclined to retire.

30. As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parties that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the remotest parts of Persia till all his forces were assembled; and that to stop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up on the plains of Babylon, with a ditch of five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the space of twelve parasangas or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the ditch a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, having viewed it the day before. The king had neglected to dispute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon.

31. Cyrus still continued to proceed, giving Clearchus the command of the right Grecian wing, and Menon that of the left, still marching in order of battle, expecting every hour to engage; at length he discovered his brother's army, consisting of twelve hundred thousand men, besides a select body of six thousand horse, approaching and preparing to engage.

32. The place where the battle was fought was called Cunaxa, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon. Cyrus getting on horse-back, with his javelin in his hand, gave orders to the troops to stand to their arms, and to proceed in order of battle. The enemy, in the mean time, advanced slowly in good order. Artaxerxes led them on regularly, with a slow pace, without noise or confusion. That good order and exact discipline extremely surprised the Greeks, who expected to see much luxury and tumult in so great a multitude; and to hear confused cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

33. The armies were not distant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on softly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horse; and then moving all together, they sprung forwards upon the barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels and fled universally, except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

34. Cyrus saw with pleasure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by those around him; but he did not give himself up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckoned himself victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank; and marched directly against him with his six hundred horse. He killed Artaxerxes, who commanded the king's guard of six thousand horse, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Discovering his brother he cried out with his eyes sparkling with rage, "I see him;" and spurred against him, followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the run-aways, which was an essential fault.

35. The battle then became a single combat, in some measure between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the two brothers were seen transported with rage and fury, endeavouring like Eteocles and Polynices to plunge their swords into each other's hearts, and to assure themselves of the throne by the death of their rival.

36. Cyrus having opened his way through those who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horse that fell with him to the ground; he rose, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again; gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his last. The king like a lion wounded by the huntsman, was only the more furious from the smart, and sprung forwards impetuously pushing his horse against Cyrus, who running headlong and without regard to his person, threw

himself into the midst of a flight of darts aimed at him from all sides ; and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the instant, that all the rest discharged upon him.

37. Cyrus fell dead ; some say by the wound given him by the king ; others affirm that he was killed by a Carian soldier. The greatest persons of his court resolving not to survive so good a master, were all killed around his body ; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmest of all his adherents, fled with the left wing as soon as he heard of his death.

38. Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Nesabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopped there, but having passed through it, continued his retreat, to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

39. Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them ; and, by the side of the river, passed through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him a passage, and made their discharges upon him as he passed, without losing a man. They were commanded by Episthenes, of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain.

40. Tissaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak ; and went forward to Cyrus' camp, where he found the king who was plundering it, but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks, who saved their baggage.

41. The Greeks, on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had passed elsewhere, believed each of them, that they had gained the victory ; the first, because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them ; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides.

42. Tissaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour ; and the Greeks, on their side learnt, that the king in pursuing Cyrus' left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy ; and Clearchus, being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

43. The two armies were soon very near each other, when, by a movement made by the king, he seemed to intend to charge the Greeks on their left, who fearing to be surrounded on all

sides, wheeled about and halted, with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon seeing that the king changed his form of battle also, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As soon as the Greeks saw him approach they began to sing the hymn of battle, and advanced against the enemy even with more ardour than in the first action.

44. The barbarians again began to fly, running farther than before; and were pursued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horse halted. The king's standard was observed to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings displayed. The Greeks, preparing to pursue them, they abandoned also the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops broke, and in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus, having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycius, the Syracusan, and another to go up it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemy fled on all sides, and that their whole army was routed.

45. As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprised that neither Cyrus, nor any one from him appeared; and imagining, that he was either engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place; for they were still ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the rest of his army; they determined to return to their camp, and found the greatest part of the baggage taken, with all the provisions, and four hundred wagons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expressly caused to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in case of any pressing necessity. They passed the night in the camp, the greatest part of them without any refreshment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

46. Amidst the confusion the Grecians were in, after the battle they sent to Ariæus, as conqueror and commander in chief, upon Cyrus' death, to offer him the Persian crown. In the mean time, the king as conqueror, also on his side, sent to them to surrender their arms, and implore his mercy; representing to them at the same time, that as they were in the heart of his dominions, surrounded with vast rivers, and numberless nations, it would be impossible for them to escape his vengeance, and therefore they had nothing to do but to submit to the present necessity.

47. Upon debating among themselves what answer they should return, Proxenes desired to know of the herald upon what terms he demanded their arms; if as conqueror, it was in his power to take them; if upon any other footing, what would he give them in return. He was seconded by Xenophon, who said, that they had nothing left but their arms and their liberty, and that

they could not preserve the one without the other. Clearchus said to the same effect; that if the king was disposed to be their friend, they should be in a better capacity of serving him with arms than without; if their enemy, they should have need of them for their defence.

48. Some indeed, spoke in terms more complying, that as they had served Cyrus faithfully, they would also serve Artaxerxes, if he would employ them, and provided he would at the same time put them in possession of Egypt. At last it was agreed, they should remain in the place where they were; and that if they advanced farther, or retreated back, it should be looked upon as a declaration of war; so that by the issue of the debate, it appeared to have been managed so as to avoid giving a direct answer, but only to amuse the king and gain time.

49. Whilst this treaty was on foot, they received Ariæus' answer, that there were too many powerful men in Persia to let him possess the throne, wherefore he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to Greece, and that if they had a mind to accompany him, they should join him that night in his camp, which accordingly they all did, except Mithocythus, a Thracian, who went with a party of three hundred men and forty horse to the king. The rest, in conjunction with Ariæus' forces, decamped by break of day, and continued their march until sunset, when they discovered from the neighbouring villages that the king was in pursuit of them.

50. Clearchus, who now undertook to conduct the Greeks, ordered his troops to halt, and prepared for an engagement. The king of Persia, terrified by so bold an appearance, sent heralds, not to demand their surrender, but to propose terms of peace and treaty. When Clearchus was informed of their arrival, he gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed purposely an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the same time to show the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx.

51. When he advanced with the most showy of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose, he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because the army being in want of provisions, had no time to lose. The heralds having carried back this answer to their master, returned immediately, which showed that the king or whoever spoke in his name was not very far distant. They said they had orders to conduct them to villages where they would find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

52. After three days' stay, Tissaphernes arrived from the king, and insinuated to them the good offices he had employed

for their safety. Clearchus, in his own defence urged, that they were engaged in this expedition without knowing the enemy against whom they were to contend: that they were free from all engagements, and had no design against the Persian king, unless he opposed their return. Tissaphernes seemingly granted their desire, and promised that they should be furnished with all necessary provisions in their march, and to confirm their security, that he himself would be their companion on the way.

53. Accordingly, in a few days after they set out under his conduct; but, in their march, the barbarians encamping at about a league's distance from the Grecians, created some little distrusts and jealousies on both sides. In about fifty days, being got to the banks of the river Zabatus, Clearchus, to prevent things coming to an open rupture, had a conference with Tissaphernes. The result of their discourse was, that they had been misrepresented to each other by some of Clearchus' officers, and that he should bring them all to Tissaphernes, in order to detect those who were guilty.

54. In consequence of this, it was agreed between them that there should be a general consultation of officers, in which those who had been remiss, or attempted to sow any dissensions between the two armies, should be exposed and punished. Menon, in particular, was suspected on both sides, and he was appointed among the number. In consequence of this fatal resolution, the five principal generals attended the succeeding day at the Persian general's tent. Their names were Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates; they on a signal given, were immediately seized, their attendants put to the sword, and themselves, after being sent bound to the king, were beheaded in his presence.

55. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the Greeks when they were informed of the massacre of their generals; they were now near two thousand miles from home, surrounded with great rivers, extensive deserts, and inimical nations, without any supplies of provisions. In this state of general dejection they could think of taking neither nourishment nor repose; all now turned their eyes on Xenophon, a young Athenian, who had been invited into Asia by Proxenes, and hitherto served as a volunteer in the army.

56. This was that Xenophon afterwards so famous as a historian, and his conduct seemed equal to his eloquence, in which he surpassed all the rest of mankind. This young general went to some of the Greek officers in the middle of the night, and represented to them that they had no time to lose; that it was of the last importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that however small their number, they would render themselves for-

midable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution ; that valour and not multitudes determines the success of arms ; and that it was necessary above all things to nominate generals immediately, because an army without commanders is like a body without a soul.

57. A council was immediately held, at which a hundred officers were present, and Xenophon being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large he had first but lightly touched upon, and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Argos, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

58. Before the break of day they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon among the rest. "Fellow soldiers," said he, "the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends is very déplorable, but we must not sink under our misfortunes ; and if we cannot conquer, let us choose rather to perish gloriously than to fall into the hands of barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries ; let us call to mind the glorious battles of Plataea, Thermopylae, Salamis, and the many others wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Persians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greeks for ever formidable.

59. "It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we possess of acknowledging no masters upon earth but the gods, nor any happiness but what consists with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's treason, will be favourable to us ; and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will also follow us to battle and combat for us.

60. "For the rest, fellow-soldiers, as we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it costs to attain it, I should believe, if it were your opinion, that for the making a more ready and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only what is absolutely necessary on our march." All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said ; and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages, such of them as had too much equipage, giving it to others who had too little, and destroying the rest:

61. Cherisophus, the Spartan general, led the van, and Xenophon, with Timasion, brought up the rear. They bent their march towards the heads of the great rivers, in order to pass them where they were fordable. But they had made little way

before they were followed by a party of the enemy's archers and slingers, commanded by Mithridates, which galled their rear, and wounded several of them, who being heavy armed, and without cavalry, could make no resistance.

62. To prevent the like inconvenience, Xenophon furnished two hundred Rhodians with slings, and mounted fifty more of his men upon baggage horses; so that when Mithridates came up with them a second time, and with a much greater body, he repulsed them with loss, and made good his retreat with this handful of men, until he arrived near the city of Larissa, on the banks of the Tigris. From thence they marched to another desolate city, called Mepsile, and about four leagues from that place Tissaphernes came up to them with his whole army in order of battle; but after several skirmishes was forced to retire.

63. In a few days after he secured an eminence, over which the Grecians were obliged to make their way, which Xenophon perceiving, took a detachment of the army, and with great diligence gained the top of a mountain which commanded that eminence, from whence he easily dislodged the enemy and made good a passage for the rest of his troops into the plain, where they found plenty of provisions: Tissaphernes had done what he could before to burn and destroy the country.

64. But still they were under as great difficulties as ever, being bounded on the one hand by the Tigris, and on the other by inaccessible mountains, inhabited by the Carduchi, a fierce and warlike people; and who, Xenophon says, had cut off an army of six score thousand Persians to a man by reason of the difficulty of the ways. However having no boats to cross the river, and the passage through the mountains opening into the rich plains of Armenia, they resolved to pursue their march that way.

65. These barbarians soon took the alarm, but not being prepared to meet the Greeks in a body, they possessed themselves of the tops of the rocks and mountains, and from thence annoyed them with darts and great stones, which they threw down into the defiles through which they passed, in which they were also attacked by several other parties; and though their loss was not considerable, yet, what with storms and famine besides seven tedious days' march, and being continually forced to fight their way, they underwent more fatigue and hardship than they had suffered from the Persians during the whole expedition.

66. They found themselves soon after exposed to new dangers. Almost at the foot of the mountains, they came to a river two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which stopped their march. They had to defend themselves against the enemy, who

pursued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the soldiers of the country, who defended the opposite side of the river.

67. They attempted in vain to pass it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, against which the weight of their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune they discovered another place not so deep, where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour to keep off the enemy, on both sides of them. The army, however, passed the river at length without much loss.

68. They marched forwards with less interruption, passed the source of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia, which was governed by Tiribasus, a satrap much beloved by the king, and who had the honour to help him to mount on horseback when at the court. He offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition that they should commit no ravages in their march; which proposal was accepted and ratified on each side.

69. Tiribasus kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learnt from a prisoner, that Tiribasus had a design to attack the Greeks at a pass on the mountains, in a defile through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days' march through the desert, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

70. They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration: so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burthen, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood.

71. All the next day they continued their march through the snow, when many of them, from the excess of hunger, followed with languor, or fainting, continued lying upon the ground through weakness and want of spirits: when something had been given them to eat they found themselves relieved and continued their march.

72. After a march of seven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phasus, which is about a hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the pass of the moun-

tain to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day.

73. Xenophon, who had observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy, which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road to amuse the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared. Thus, after twelve or fifteen days' march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they descried the sea. The first who perceived it raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time, which made Xenophon imagine that the vanguard was attacked and went in all haste to support it.

74. As he approached nearer, the cry of, "The sea! the sea!" was heard distinctly; and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, "The sea! the sea!" whilst they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers, and then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

75. From thence, they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the rest, and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to ascend: for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by defiles; because the soldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in some places was easy, in others difficult to climb, which might discourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it.

76. The heavy armed troops amounted to four-score files, each consisting of about one hundred men; with eighteen hundred light armed soldiers, divided in three bodies; one of which was posted on the right, another on the left, and the third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops, by representing to them, that this was the last obstacle they had to surmount, and implored the assistance of the gods, the army began to ascend the hill. The enemy were not able to support their charge, and dispersed. They passed the mountain, and encamped in villages where they found provisions in abundance.

77. A very strange accident happened there to the army, which put them in great consternation; for the soldiers finding

abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes attended with raving fits ; so that those who were least ill seemed like drunken men, and the rest either furiously mad or dying. The earth was strewn with their bodies as after a defeat : however, none of them died : and the distemper ceased the next day, about the same hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the soldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after taking a violent medicine.

78. Two days after the army arrived near Trebisond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, situated upon the Euxine or Black sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themselves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain a happy return into their own country ; they also celebrated the games of horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, the pancratiun ; the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity.

79. Here Xenophon formed a project of settling them in those parts, and founding a Grecian colony, which was approved of by some ; but his enemies representing it to the army only as a more honourable way of abandoning them ; and to the inhabitants as a design to subdue and enslave the country, he was forced to give over that enterprise. However the noise of it had this good effect, that the natives did what they could in a friendly manner to procure their departure, advising them to go by sea as the safest way, and furnished them with a sufficient number of transports for that purpose.

80. Accordingly they embarked with a fair wind, and the next day got into the harbour of Sinope, where Chersiphos met them with some galleys : but instead of the money they had also expected from him, he only told them they should be paid their arrears as soon as they got out of the Euxine sea. But this answer occasioned a great deal of murmuring and discontent among them : so that they resolved to put themselves under one general, desiring Xenophon in the most pressing and affectionate terms to accept of that command, which he modestly declined, and procured the choice to fall upon Chersiphos.

81. But he enjoyed it not above six or seven days ; for no sooner were they arrived at Heraclea, than the army deposed him for refusing to extort a sum of money from the inhabitants of that city ; which being a Grecian colony, Xenophon likewise refused to concern himself in that affair ; so that the army being disappointed in their hopes of plunder, fell into a mutiny, and divided into three bodies after suffering a slight retreat. When divided from their barbarian enemies they were happily reun-

ed, and encamped at the port of Calpe, where they settled the command as before, substituting Neon in the room of Cherisophus, who died here, and making it death for any man henceforward to propose the dividing of the army.

82. But being straitened for provisions, they were forced to spread themselves in the vallies, where Pharnabazus' horse being joined by the inhabitants, cut in pieces five hundred of them; the rest escaping to the hill, were rescued and brought off by Xenophon, who after this led them through a large forest, where Pharnabazus had posted his troops to oppose their passage; but they entirely defeated him, and pursued their march to Chrysopolis of Chalcedon, having got a great deal of booty in their way, and from thence to Byzantium.

83. From thence he led them to Salmydessa, to serve Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had before solicited Xenophon by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-establishment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promises for himself and his troops: but when he had done him the service he wanted, he was so far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon.

84. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith, imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master by saving him a sum of money at the expense of justice, faith and honesty, qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs, and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity and justice, as mere chimeras, and that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no thoughts in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him.

85. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity and the faith of engagements as the most precious treasure he can possess; and as an assured resource and infallible support in all the events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished all sense of honour in him.

86. Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Carminus and Polynices arrived as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; that Thimbron

had already embarked with the troops, and promised a daric a month to every soldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who should engage in the service. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambassadors, part of the pay due him, he went by sea to Lampsacus with the army, which amounted, at that time, to almost six thousand men.

87. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, (where ended the expedition of the Greeks) a great nobleman returning into Persia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage; and, by that means, found himself in a condition to bestow great liberalities amongst the soldiers, and to make them satisfactory amends for all the losses they had sustained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops; and having joined them with his own, marched against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

88. Such was the event of Cyrus' expedition. Xenophon reckons from the first setting out of that prince's army from the city of Ephesus, to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangas, or leagues; and four-score and thirteen days' march; and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coast of the Euxine, or Black Sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas or leagues, and one hundred and twenty days' march; and adding both together, he says the way going and coming was eleven hundred and fifty-five parasangas, or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days' march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

89. This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has been always passed among judges of the art of war as a most extraordinary undertaking; and it, in some measure, inspired them ever after with a contempt for the power of the Persians; it taught them that their dominions could be invaded without danger; and, that marching into Persia was but pursuing an unresisting enemy, that only appeared to offer victory rather than battle.

90. In the mean time, while Greece was gaining fame in Persia, Athens was losing its honour at home; though it had now some breathing time to recover from its late confusions, yet still there were the seeds of rancour remaining, and the citizens opposed each other with unremitting malice. Socrates was the first object that fell a sacrifice to these popular dissensions. We have already seen this great man, who was the son of an obscure citizen at Athens, emerging from the meanness of his birth, and giving examples of courage, moderation, and wisdom; we have

seen him saving the life of Alcibiades in battle; refusing to concur in the edict which unjustly doomed the six Athenian generals to death; withstanding the thirty tyrants, and spurning the bigotry and persecution of the times with the most acute penetration, and the most caustic raillery; he possessed unexampled good nature, and a universal love to mankind; he was ready to pity vices in others, while he was in the greatest measure free from them himself; however, he knew his own defects, and if he was proud of any thing, it was in the being thought to have none.

91. "He seemed," says Libanius, "the common father of the republic, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of his whole country." But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown gray, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

92. He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons; he had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair; he was the philosopher of all times and seasons; he taught in all places, and upon all occasions, in walking, conversation at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assemblies of the senate or people. Such was the man whom a faction in the city had long devoted to destruction; he had been for many years before his death the object of their satire and ridicule.

93. Aristophanes, the comic poet, was engaged to expose him upon the stage; he composed a piece called the Clouds, wherein he introduced the philosopher in a basket, uttering the most ridiculous absurdities. Socrates, who was present at the exhibition of his own character, seemed not to feel the least emotion; and, as some strangers were present, who desired to know the original for whom the play was intended, he rose up from his seat and showed himself during the whole representation.

94. This was the first blow struck at him; and it was not till twenty years after, that Melitus appeared in a more formal manner as his accuser, and entered a regular process against him. His accusation consisted of two heads; the first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring that sentence of death ought to pass against him.

95. How far the whole charge affected him is not easy to determine; it is certain, that amidst so much zeal and superstition as then reigned in Athens, he never durst openly oppose the re-

ceived religion, and was therefore forced to preserve an outward show of it; but it is very probable, from the discourses he frequently held with his friends, that in his heart he despised and laughed at their monstrous opinions and ridiculous mysteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets; and that he had attained to the notion of the one only true God, inasmuch that upon the account both of his belief of the Deity, and the exemplariness of his life, some have thought fit to rank him with the Christian philosophers.

96. As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lycias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in their full force, interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes, capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but, as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly that it did not suit him.

97. Upon which, Lycias having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him. "In the same manner," said he, using according to his custom a vulgar comparison, "that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not fit me." He persisted, therefore, inflexibly in the resolution not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low abject manner common at that time.

98. He employed neither artifice, nor the glitter of eloquence; he had no recourse either to solicitation or entreaty; he brought neither his wife nor children to incline his judges in his favour by their sighs and tears: nevertheless, though he firmly refused to make use of any other voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride or contempt of the tribunal, it was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the consciousness of his truth and innocence; so that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it.

99. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions, composed from it the work which he calls the *Apology*

of Socrates, one of the most consummate master-pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

100. Upon the day assigned, the proceedings commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke; the worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness; he omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and, instead of reasons which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive shine of a lively and pompous eloquence.

101. Socrates, in observing, that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he scarce knew himself, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

102. "I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with having ever sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty.

103. "Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me. I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous; and if, amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me.

104. "My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be; and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection. For I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches; but, on the contrary, riches from virtue: and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

105. "If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples; they have only to appear. But, perhaps the reserve and consideration for a master who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me; at least, their fathers, brothers, and uncles, cannot, as good relations and good citizens, dispense with their not standing

forth to demand vengeance against the corruptor of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

106. "Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians; but, I can neither repent nor change my conduct: I must not abandon or suspend a function which God himself has imposed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow-citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæ, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man, who does not believe the gods.

107. "Should you resolve to acquit me; for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer, Athenians, I honour and love you, but I shall choose rather to obey God than you, and to my latest breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you according to my custom, by telling each of you when you come in my way, my good friend, and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than that of amassing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilst you neglect the treasures of prudence, truth and wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?

108. "I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be present in your assemblies, to give my counsels to my country. I think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude both in the field where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate, where I alone opposed the unjust sentence you pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of those who were killed and drowned in the sea-fight near the island Arginusæ; and when, upon more than one occasion I opposed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants.

109. "What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that demon, that voice divine, which you have so often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken so much pains to ridicule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy—it is a voice which I never hear but when it would prevent me from persisting in something I have resolved

—for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the same being that has always opposed me when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic, and that with the greatest reason, for I should have been amongst the dead long ago had I been concerned in the measures of the state, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myself or our country.

110. "Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generously oppose a whole people, either amongst us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do so long with impunity. It is absolutely necessary for him who would contend for justice, if he has any thoughts o. living, to remain in a private station, and never to have any share in public affairs.

111. "For the rest, Athenians, if in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who upon less emergencies, have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations and friends, it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city.

112. "You should know, that there are amongst our citizens those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation true or false, which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie in my last action, all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

113. "But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to intreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications. He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to show favour by violating the laws, but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases, but to do justice where it is due—we ought not, therefore, to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

114. "Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful, especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus; for if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oath, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe

in the gods ; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts. I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers ; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me."

115. Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone ; his air, his action, his visage expressed nothing of the accused ; he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty.

116. There was the form of a process against him, and his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded, but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His steady, uninterrupted course of obstinate virtue, which had made him in many cases appear singular, and oppose whatever he thought illegal or unjust, without any regard to times or persons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will.

117. By his first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty ; but when by his answer he appeared to appeal from their tribunal to that of justice and posterity ; when instead of confessing himself guilty, he demanded rewards and honours from the state, the judges were so very much offended, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a method of execution then in use amongst them.

118. Socrates received this sentence with the utmost composure. Apollodorus, one of his disciples, launching out into bitter invectives and lamentations that his master should die innocent :—" What, (replied Socrates, with a smile) would you have me die guilty ? Melitus and Anytus may kill, but they cannot hurt me."

119. After this sentence he still continued with the same serene and intrepid aspect with which he had long enforced virtue and held tyrants in awe ; when he entered his prison, which now became the residence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during the interval between his condemnation and death, which lasted for thirty days.

120. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices : and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return ; so

that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

121. In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunities to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof; not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event to which nature is always abhorrent.

122. In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed; and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of *Æsop's* fables into verse.

123. The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning to let him know that bad news; and, at the same time that it depended upon himself to quit the prison: that the jailor was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates, who laughed at this proposal, asked him, "whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die?"

124. Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding argument upon argument, to induce his consent and to engage him to resolve upon his escape; without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose: can the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison when he might do it with all possible security? perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even their lives or liberty: ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates?

125. Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them, many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape, and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for: ought he to abandon himself to enemies who have occasioned

his being condemned unjustly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause ?

126. Is it not essential to his goodness and justice to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood : but if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children ? In what a condition does he leave them ; and can he forget the father, to remember only the philosopher ?

127. Socrates after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude ; but before he could give in to his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question therefore here is, to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws. Socrates held that it was unjust ; and therefore, nobly refused to escape from prison. He revered the laws of his country, and resolved to obey them in all things, even in his death.

128. At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison very early in the morning. The jailor desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at the time signifying to the prisoner that he was to die the same day.

129. Presently after they entered, and finding Socrates, whose chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe, his wife, who held one of his children in her arms ; as soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints ; Oh, my dear Socrates ! your friends are come to see you for the last time ! He desired she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

130. Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important, but adapted to the present conjuncture ; that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire, and take pains to die ? This proposition taken too literally implied an opinion that a philosopher might kill himself.

131. Socrates shows that nothing is more unjust than this notion ; and that, man appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to en-

ertain this love for death ? It can be only the hope of that happiness which he expects in another life ; and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

132. Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject ; from which conversation, Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled the *Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day.

133. When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired him to give him, and the rest of his friends, his last instructions in regard to his children and other affairs, that by executing them they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. I shall recommend nothing to you this day, replied Socrates, more than I have already done, which is to take care of yourselves. You cannot do yourselves a greater service, nor do me and my family a greater pleasure.

134. Crito having asked him afterwards in what manner he thought fit to be buried ? As you please, said Socrates, if you can lay hold of me, and I not escape out of your hands. At the same time, looking on his friends with a smile, I can never persuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse, for he always imagines that I am what he is going to see dead in a little while ; he confounds me with my carcass, and therefore asks me how I would be interred.

135. In finishing these words, he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himself down upon his bed.

136. The servant of the eleven entered at the same instant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come, (which was at sunset) the servant was so much afflicted with sorrow, that he turned his back and fell weeping. " See," said Socrates, " the good heart of this man, since my imprisonment he has often come to see me, and to converse with me ; he is more worthy than all his fellows ; how heartily the poor man weeps for me !"

137. This is a remarkable example, and might teach those in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy as to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socr-

tes asked what it was necessary for him to do? Nothing more, replied the servant, than as soon as you have drank off the draught, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards to lie down upon your bed.

138. He took the cup without any emotion, or change in his colour or countenance; and regarding the man with a steady and assured look: "well," said he, "What say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one dose: "At least continued he, "we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy, which is what I most ardently beg of them." After having spoken these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity and serenity of aspect not to be expressed or conceived.

139. Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good nature.

140. "What are you doing?" said he to them. "I admire at you! Oh! what is become of your virtue? was it not for this I sent away the women that they might not fall into these weaknesses: for I have always heard say that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and show more constancy and resolution." He then obliged them to restrain their tears.

141. In the mean time he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed. The poison then operated more and more.

142. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, "Crito," said he, "we owe a cock to Esculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after which he breathed his last. Crito went to the body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age.

143. It was not till some time after the death of this great man, that the people of Athens perceived their mistake, and began to repent of it; their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired; and time having given them an opportunity for

reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates.

144. The Academy, the Lycæum, private houses, public walks, and market places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. "Here," said they, "he formed our youth; and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services!" Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended.

145. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that those who had any share in this black calumny were in such abomination among the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them, lest they should be polluted by touching it, which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

146. The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demigod, which they called the Chapel of Socrates.

CHAPTER XII.

From the Death of Socrates to the Death of Epaminondas.

1. Hitherto we have pursued the Athenians, both in their successes and their defeats, with peculiar attention; while they took the lead in the affairs of Greece, it was necessary to place them on the fore-ground of the picture; but now we must change the scene; and leaving the Athenians acting an obscure part, go to those states who successively took the lead after their downfall.

2. Sparta seems to be the first state now that gave laws to the rest of the Greeks: their old jealousies began to revive against the petty states that had formerly sided against them; and the Eleans were the first upon whom they fell, under a pretence, that

they were not admitted by that state to the Olympic games as well as the rest of the Grecians.

3. Having formally declared war, and being upon the point of plundering the city of Elis, they were taken into the alliance of Sparta; and the conquerors now assumed and enjoyed the title of the protectors and arbitrators of Greece. Soon after Agesilaus, who was chosen king of Sparta, was sent into Asia with an army, under pretence of freeing the Grecian cities: he gained a signal victory over Tissaphernes near the river Pactolus, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found considerable plunder.

4. This success induced the Persian monarch, instead of meeting Agesilaus openly in the field, to subvert his interest among the Grecian states by the power of bribery; and indeed this confederacy was now so weakened, its concord and unanimity so totally destroyed, that they were open to every offer: the love of money was now rooted in their affections; and the Spartans were the only people that, for a while, seemed to disdain it. But the contagion still spreading, even they, at last, yielded to its allurements; and every man sought his own emolument, without attending to the good of his country.

5. The Thebans, as they were the first gained over to the Persian interest, so they were the most active in promoting it. To strengthen their alliance, they sent ambassadors to the Athenians with a long representation of the present posture of affairs, wherein they artfully insinuated their zeal and affection to their state: from thence they took occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of Sparta; and concluded with telling them, that now was the time to throw off the yoke, and to recover their former splendour and authority. The Athenians, though they had no share of the Persian money, needed not many arguments to engage them in a rupture of this kind, for which they had been long waiting a fit opportunity.

6. Agesilaus, who had carried on the war in Persia with success, received news of the war being again broke out in Greece, with orders, at the same time, for him to return home. He had set his heart upon the entire conquest of Persia, and was preparing to march farther into the country; but such was his deference to the laws, and such his submission to the Ephori, that he instantly obeyed their mandate, but left four thousand men in Asia to maintain his successes there.

7. The Spartans, however, could not wait his arrival: they found confederacies thicken on their hands, and they were ready to be attacked on all sides. The Athenians, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians and Euboeans joined against them, and made up a

body of twenty-four thousand men : both sides encamped near Sicyon, at a small distance from each other ; and soon came to a regular engagement. The Spartan allies at first were entirely routed ; but the Spartans themselves turned the scale of victory by their single valour, and came off conquerors with the loss of but eight men.

8. This victory, however, was in some measure overbalanced by a loss at sea, which the Spartans sustained near Cnidus. Conon, the Athenian general, being appointed to command the Persian fleet against them, took fifty of their ships, and pursued the rest into port. Agesilaus, on the other hand, gained a considerable victory over the Athenians and their allies upon the plains of Coronea. Thus was the war continued by furious but undecisive engagements, in which neither side was a gainer ; and in this manner did the Spartans maintain themselves and their allies, without any considerable increase or diminution of their power.

9. In this general shock, the Athenians seemed for a while to recover their former spirit ; being assisted by Persian money, and conducted by Conon, an excellent general, they took the field with ardour, and even rebuilt the walls of their city. From the mutual jealousies of these petty states among each other, all were weakened, and the Persian monarch became arbitrator of Greece. In this manner, after a fluctuation of successes and intrigues, all parties began to grow tired of a war, and a peace ensued ; this peace was concluded in the second year of the 98th Olympiad ; and from the many stipulations in favour of Persia, Plutarch terms it, " The reproach and ruin of Greece."

10. The Spartans, thus freed from the terrors of a powerful foreign enemy, went on to spread terror among the petty states of Greece : they gave peremptory orders to the Mantineans to throw down their walls, and compelled them to obedience. They obliged the Corinthians to withdraw the garrison from Argosi ; and some other little states they treated with an air of superiority that plainly marked, that they expected obedience. They marched against the Olynthians, who had lately grown into power, and effectually subdued them.

11. They interposed also in a domestic quarrel which was carried on at Thebes. Phæbides having seized upon the citadel, they turned him out, and placed a garrison of their own in that fortress. They then procured articles to be exhibited against Ismenias his antagonist, for having taken money of the Persians, and holding intelligence with them ; and for having been a principal promoter of their intestine broils : upon which he underwent a formal trial before the commissioners deputed from Spar-

ta ; and one from each of the other great cities of Greece, and was condemned to death.

12. Thus, having secured Thebes, and having by a tedious war humbled the Olynthians, they went on to chastise the Philiassians, for having abused some exiles, that had been restored by the orders of Sparta. In this manner they continued distributing their orders with pride and severity ; no state of Greece was able to oppose their authority ; and under the colour of executing justice, they were hourly paving the way to supreme command. In the midst of this security, they were alarmed from a quarter where they least expected.

13. The Thebans had, for four years since the seizing of their citadel, submitted to the Spartan yoke ; but they now took occasion, by a very desperate attempt, to throw it off ; for which purpose, there was a secret correspondence carried on between the most considerable of the exiles of Athens, and those who were well affected to them in Thebes ; and measures were conducted between them by Phyllidas, secretary to the Theban governors ; by whose contrivance a competent number of exiles were to get into the city ; and Charon, a man of the first rank there, offered his house for their reception.

14. The day being fixed, they set out from Athens ; and twelve of the most active and resolute among them were detached to enter the city, the rest remaining at a proper distance to wait the event. The first who offered himself was Pelopidas, who was young and daring, and had been very zealous in encouraging the design ; and, by the share he had in it, gave a sufficient earnest of what might be further expected from him in the service of his country. The next man of consequence was Mellon, who by some is said to have first projected the scheme with Phyllidas.

15. These two, with their ten associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and beat about the fields with dogs and hunting-poles, as in search of game. Having thus passed unexpected, and conveyed themselves into the city, they met at Charon's house, as the general rendezvous, where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. It was concerted, that Phyllidas should, on that day, give a great entertainment to Archias and Philip, the two governors who were appointed by the Spartans ; and to make it the more complete, he had engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town to give them a meeting.

16. Matters being thus prepared, the associates divided themselves into two bands ; one of which, led by Charon and Mellon, were to attack Archias and his company ; and having put

on women's clothes over their armour, with pine and poplar over their heads, to shade their faces, they took their opportunity when the guests were well heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately stabbed Archias and Philip, with such other of the company as were pointed out to them by Phyllidas.

17. A little before this execution, Archias received an express from Athens, with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and the courier conjured him, in the name of the person who wrote the letters, that he should read them forthwith, for that they contained matter of great importance. But he laid them by unopened; and with a smile, said, "Business to-morrow:" which words, upon that occasion, grew into a proverb. The other band, headed by Pelopidas and Damocles, went to attack Leontidas, who was at home, and in bed.

18. They rushed into his house by surprise; but he, soon taking the alarm, leaped up, and with his sword in his hand, received them at his chamber door, and stabbed Cephisodoras, who was the first man that attempted to enter. Pelopidas was the next who encountered him; and after a long and difficult dispute killed him. From thence they went in pursuit of Hypates, his friend and neighbour, and despatched him likewise: after which they joined the other band, and sent to hasten the exiles they had left in Attica.

19. The whole city was by this time filled with terror and confusion; the houses full of lights, and the inhabitants running to and fro in the streets, in a wild distracted manner, and waiting impatiently for day light, that they might distinguish their friends from their foes, seemed undetermined what course to take.

20. Early in the morning, the exiles came in armed, and Pelopidas appeared with his party, in a general assembly of the people, encompassed by the priests, carrying garlands in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the Thebans in general, and exhorting them to fight for their gods and their country; for though they had made such a prosperous beginning, the most difficult part still remained, whilst the citadel was in the possession of the Spartans, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, besides a great number of citizens and others, who had fled to them for protection, and declared themselves on their side.

21. Early the next morning, the Athenians sent five thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to the assistance of Pelopidas; several other bodies of troops also came in from all the cities of Bœotia, so that the citadel being hemmed round and despairing of success from without surrendered at discretion.

22. The Thebans having thus acquired their freedom, the Spartans were resolved, at any rate, to take the lead in the af-

fairs of Greece, and having incensed these beyond measure, attempted to seize upon the Pyræus, and thus make the Athenians their irreconcilable enemies. Agesilaus was pitched upon to command the army that was to humble the Grecian states. His name struck a terror into the Thebans, and the forces, which amounted to near twenty thousand men, increased their fears.

23. The Thebans, therefore, instead of attempting to attack, were contented to stand upon their defence, and possessed themselves of a hill near the city. Agesilaus detached a party of light armed men, to provoke them to come down and give him battle, which they declining, he drew out his whole forces in order to attack them. Chabrias, who commanded the mercenaries on the part of the Thebans, ordered his men to present themselves and keep their ranks in close order, with their shields laid down at their feet, and their spears advanced, and with one leg put forward, and knee upon the half bend.

24. Agesilaus, finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they stood as it were in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himself with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary stratagem ; and Chabrias valued himself so much upon it, that he procured his statue to be erected in that posture.

25. Thus through a succession of engagements both by sea and land, the Spartans, having provoked a powerful confederacy, grew every day weaker, and their enemies more daring. The Thebans continually grew bolder ; and instead of continuing to defend themselves with difficulty, attacked the enemy with courage and success. Though the battles fought between these states, were neither regular nor decisive, yet they were such as served to raise the courage of the Thebans, to gain them confidence, and to form them for those great undertakings which were shortly to follow. Pelopidas, who headed them at the battle of Tanagra, slew the Spartan commander with his own hand.

26. At the battle of Tegyra, with very unequal forces, he put a large body of the enemy to rout. He himself commanded a battalion of the Theban army, distinguished by the name of the Sacred Van. They were as remarkable for their fidelity to each other, as for their strength and courage ; they were linked by the bonds of common friendship ; and were sworn to stand by each other in the most dangerous extremities. Thus united they became invincible, and generally turned the victory in their favour, for a succession of years, until they were at last cut down as one man, by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip.

27. A peace of short continuance followed these successes of the Thebans, but they soon fell into tumults and seditions again.

The inhabitants of Xacinctus and Corcyra having expelled their magistrates, put themselves under the protection of Athens, and repulsed the Spartans, who attempted to restore their magistrates by force.

28. About the same time the inhabitants of Plataea, applying to their old friends the Athenians, for their protection and alliance, the Thebans took offence at it, and demolished the town; and soon after, did the same by Thespiæ. The Athenians were so highly incensed at the treatment of those two cities, which had deserved so well of the common cause in the Persian war, that they would act no longer in conjunction with them; and upon their breaking with them, the affairs of Greece took a new and unexpected turn.

29. It now began to appear that the Thebans were growing into power; and while Sparta and Athens were weakening each other by mutual contests, this state, which had enjoyed all the emoluments without any of the expenses of the war, was every day growing more vigorous and independent. The Thebans, who now began to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, were naturally a hardy and robust people, of slow intellects and strong constitutions.

30. It was a constant maxim with them, to side either with Athens or Sparta in their mutual contests; and which soever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance. However they had hitherto made no further use of that weight, than to secure themselves; but the spirit which now appeared among them, was first implanted by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke; but still further carried to its utmost height, by Epaminondas, who now began to figure in the affairs of Greece.

31. Epaminondas was one of those few exalted characters, with scarce any vice, and almost every virtue to distinguish him from the rest of mankind. Though in the beginning possessed of every quality necessary for the service of the state, he chose to lead a private life, employed in the study of philosophy, and showing an example of the most rigid observance of all its doctrines.

32. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

33. Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One

of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns in his name; that rich man coming to his house to know his motive for directing his friend to him upon such an errand, "why," replied Epaminondas, "it is because this honest man is in want and you are rich."

34. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned public employments, and made no interest but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure, and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philosophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes: for it was a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self.

35. In this school, anciently, were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them; what we owe our country; the right use of authority; wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain; and in all these Epaminondas excelled.

36. He possessed all the ornaments of the mind. He had the talent of speaking in perfection; and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all these excellent qualities, which still augmented their value; and of which he knew not what it was to be ostentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, that he never had met with a man who knew more and spoke less.

37. Such was the general appointed to command the Theban army, and act in conjunction with Pelopidas, with whom he had the most perfect and the most disinterested friendship. This state being left out in the general treaty of peace, and thus having the Spartans and Athenians confederated against it, they appeared under the utmost consternation; and all Greece looked upon them as lost and undone. The Spartans ordered levies to be made in all parts of Greece, that sided with them; and Cleombrotus their general marched towards the frontiers of Bœotia, secure of victory.

38. Willing, however, to give his hostilities an air of justice, he sent to demand of the Thebans, that they should restore the cities that they had usurped, to their liberties; that they should rebuild those that they had demolished before, and make restitution for all their former wrongs. To this it was replied, "that the Thebans were accountable to none but heaven for their con-

duct." Nothing now remained on both sides, but to prepare for action. Epaminondas immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number.

39. As several bad omens were urged to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse from Homer, of which the sense is, *There is but one good omen; to fight for one's country.* However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirits and hopes of his troops.

40. Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter after having taken a large compass arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platæa, and Thespiæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved, by the advice of all his officers; who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans.

41. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments; the seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time, to join the three that were for fighting; and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon.

42. The two armies were very unequal in number: that of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; the Thebans had only six thousand foot, and four hundred horse, but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience in war, and determined to conquer or die.

43. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it; and being besides, dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

44. The ability of the generals on either side, supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished soldier of his time. He was supported by Pelopidas, at the head of the sacred battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and

engaged, under a particular oath, never to fly, but to defend each other to the last.

45. Upon the day of battle, the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, at the head of a body consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in front of the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

46. Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep; the second battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right, in an oblique line, which the further it extended, was the more distant from the enemy.

47. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right; to keep off his right wing, as a kind of reserved body; that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon Cleombrotus, and the Spartans. He was assured, that, if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

48. The action began with the cavalry. As the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas followed his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops, with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him.

49. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness, at the head of the sacred battalion, to prevent the enemy's design; and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very fierce and obstinate; and, whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense and declared for neither party. But when he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides.

50. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which perhaps would have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour : but the left wing seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

51. The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeat, till then, had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. Here they lost four thousand, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians and four hundred Spartans, out of seven hundred that were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

52. The city of Sparta was celebrating at that time the Gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra, with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and staid in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued, without interruption, to the end.

53. The next day, in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the friends and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks, whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses ; or, if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women ; grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons ; but such as had lost their sons, were seen hurrying to the temple, to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune.

54. One great point under immediate consideration, was concerning those who had fled out of the battle. They were, by the law, in that case, to be degraded from all honour, and rendered infamous ; insomuch, that it was a disgrace to intermarry

with them ; they were to appear publicly in mean and dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half shaved ; and whoever met them in the streets might insult and beat them, and they were not to make any resistance. This was so severe a law, and such numbers had incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and interest ; and they apprehended the execution of it might occasion some public commotions ; besides, that these citizens, such as they were, could be very ill spared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army.

55. Under this difficulty they gave Agesilaus a power even over the laws ; to dispense with them ; to abrogate them ; or to enact such new ones as the present exigency required. He would not abolish or make any variation in the law itself ; but made a public declaration, that it should lie dormant for that single day, but revive and be in full force again on the morrow ; and, by that expedient, he saved the citizens from infamy.

56. So great a victory was followed by instantaneous effects ; numbers of the Grecian states that had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the conquerors : and increased their army to the amount of seventy thousand men. Epaminondas entered Laconia with an army, the twelfth part of which were not Thebans : and finding the country hitherto untouched by an army, he ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas.

57. This river was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snow, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the rapidity as the extreme coldness of the water. As Epaminondas was passing at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans showed him to Agesilaus, who after having attentively followed and considered him with his eyes a long time, could not help crying out, in admiration of his valour, " Oh ! the wonder-working man ! "

58. The Theban general, however, contented himself with over-running the country, without attempting any thing upon Sparta, and, entering Arcadia, reinstated it in all its former privileges and liberties. The Lacedæmonians had some time before stripped the harmless natives of all their possessions, and obliged them to take refuge among strangers. Their country was equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece.

59. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy, animated by the love of their country, natural to all men ; and almost as much by the hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased.

They built themselves a city, which from the ancient name was called Messene.

60. After performing such signal exploits, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Theban generals, once more returned home; not to share the triumph and acclamations of their fellow-citizens, but to answer the accusations that were laid against them: they were now both summoned as criminals against the state, for having retained their posts four months beyond the time limited by law.

61. This offence was capital by the law of Thebes; and those who stood up for the constitution were very earnest in having it observed with punctuality. Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal: he defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before his judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him, not without difficulty.

62. Epaminondas, on the contrary, appeared with all the confidence of conscious innocence: instead of justifying himself, he enumerated his actions: he repeated, in haughty terms, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour, and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause.

63. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force. This manner of reproaching them had so good an effect, that his enemies declined any further prosecution; and he, with his colleague, were honourably acquitted. His enemies, however, jealous of his glory, with a design to affront him, caused him to be elected city scavenger; he accepted the place with thanks, and asserted, that instead of deriving honour from the office, he would give it dignity in his turn.

64. In the mean time, the Spartans, struck with consternation at their late defeats, applied to the Athenians for succour, who, after some hesitation, determined to assist them with all their forces; and a slight advantage the Spartans had gained over the Arcadians, in which they did not lose a man, gave a promising dawn of success. The Persian king was also applied to for assistance in the confederacy against Thebes; but Pelopidas, undertaking an embassy to that court, frustrated their purpose, and induced that great monarch to stand neuter.

65. Thebes being thus rid of so powerful an enemy, had less fears of withstanding the confederacy of Sparta and Athens ; but a new and unexpected power was now growing up against them ; a power which was one day about to swallow up the liberties of Greece, and give laws to all mankind.

66. Some years before this, Jason, the king of Pheræ, was chosen general of the Thessalians by the consent of the people : he was at the head of an army of about eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy armed foot, without reckoning light infantry, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their commander. Death prevented his designs ; he was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

67. His two brothers, Polydorus and Poliphron, were substituted in his place. Against them Pelopidas was sent : the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the government, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. The Theban general soon compelled Alexander to make submission to him, and attempted by mild usage to change the natural brutality of his disposition. But Alexander, long addicted to a debauched life, and possessed of insatiable avarice, secretly withdrew from all constraint, and resolved to seize an opportunity of revenge.

68. It was not till some time after that this offered : for Pelopidas being appointed ambassador to Alexander, who was at that time at the head of a powerful army, he was seized upon, and made prisoner, contrary to all the laws of nations and humanity. It was in vain that the Thebans complained of this infraction ; it was in vain that they sent a powerful army, but headed by indifferent generals, to revenge the insult : their army returned without effect, and Alexander treated his prisoners with the utmost severity. It was left for Epaminondas only to bring the tyrant to reason. Entering Thessalia at the head of a powerful army, his name spread such a terror, that the tyrant offered terms of submission, and delivered up Pelopidas from prison.

69. Pelopidas was scarce freed from confinement when he resolved to punish the tyrant for his perfidy and breach of faith. He led a body of troops against Alexander, to a place called Cynocephalus, where a bloody battle ensued, in which the Thebans were victorious ; but Pelopidas was unfortunately slain : his countrymen considered their successes very dearly earned which they had obtained by his death. The lamentations for him were general ; his funeral was magnificent, and his praises boundless.

70. Alexander himself soon after was killed by Theba his wife, and her three brothers; who, long shocked at his cruelties, resolved to rid the world of such a monster. The account has it, that he slept every night guarded by a dog, in a chamber which was ascended by a ladder. Theba allured away the dog, and covered the steps of the ladder with wool to prevent noise; and then, with the assistance of her brothers, stabbed him in several parts of the body.

71. In the mean time, the war between the Thebans and the Spartans proceeded with unabated vigour. The Thebans were headed by their favourite general, Epaminondas; those of Sparta by Agesilaus, the only man in Greece that was then able to oppose him.

72. The first attempt of Epaminondas in this campaign, marked his great abilities, and his skill in the art of war. Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and had left but few citizens to defend Sparta at home, he marched directly thither by night, with a design to take the city by surprise, as it had neither walls nor troops to defend it; but luckily, Agesilaus was apprised of his design, and despatched one of his horse to advise the city of its danger; soon after, arriving with a powerful succour in person, he had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city.

73. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. He therefore made his troops advance; and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and seized that part of Sparta which lay on the hither side of the river. Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years.

74. He saw well that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive, but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest; and with his small troop, stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

75. A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth; he had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil: he held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with

the utmost eagerness ; and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy ; gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself.

76. Whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour ; it is said, the ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits ; but afterwards fined him a thousand drachms, for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

77. Epaminondas, thus failing in his designs, was resolved before he laid down his command, which was near expiring, to give the Lacedæmonians and Athenians battle, as they followed him close in the rear. The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse : the Thebans of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

78. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line ; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre ; and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians, were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

79. The Theban general marched in order of battle, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose in the disposition of his army a time which cannot be recovered when lost in great enterprises. He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost ; as if he did not intend to fight that day.

80. When he was over against them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy, in effect, were deceived by his stand ; and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to be extinguished which a near approach of battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

81. Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops, changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came

up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the troops of which he had no great opinion.

82. He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed into a column to attack the enemy in a wedge-like point. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of the army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

83. But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon a rising ground in readiness to flank the Athenians, as well to cover his right as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

84. After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order ; and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

85. Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bow-men, slingers, and dart-men in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorders of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them.

86. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution ; and made another fault not less considerable in giving as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

87. In the mean time, Epaminondas with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour, both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began with fighting with the spear ; and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate ; and the slaughter very great on both sides.

88. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground. The furious slaughter on both sides, having continued a great while, without a victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life.

89. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. This troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground.

90. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them; fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, a Spartan, named Callicrates gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast across his cuirass.

91. The wood of the javelin being broke off, the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

92. After several different movements, and alternate losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still, and rested upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however sent first to demand that permission, after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

93. In the mean time, Epaminondas had been carried into

the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man upon the point of expiring. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air, "all then is well," said he, and soon after, upon drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he expired in the arms of victory.

94. As the glory of Thebes rose with Epaminondas, so it fell with him, and he is perhaps the only instance of one man's being able to inspire his country with military glory, and lead it on to conquest, without having had a predecessor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

95. The battle of Mantinea was the greatest that ever was fought by Grecians against Grecians; the whole strength of the country being drawn out, and ranged according to their different interests; and it was fought with an obstinacy equal to the importance of it, which was the fixing the empire of Greece. And this must of course, have been transferred to the Thebans upon their victory, if they had not lost the fruits of it by the death of their general, who was the soul of all their counsels and designs.

96. This blasted all their hopes, and put out their sudden blaze of power almost as soon as it was kindled. However, they did not presently give up their pretensions; they were still ranked among the leading states, and made several further struggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and such as were rather for life and being, than for superiority and dominion. A peace therefore was proposed, which was ratified by all the states of Greece except Sparta, the conditions of which were, that every state should maintain what they possessed, and hold it independent of any other power.

97. A state of repose ensued this peace, in which the Grecian powers seemed to slacken from their former animosities, and if we except an expedition under Agesilaus into Egypt, whither he went to assist Tachos, who had usurped that kingdom, and in which he died, there was little done for several years following. The Athenians, more particularly, when they found themselves delivered from him who kept up their emulation, grew insolent and remiss; and abandoned themselves to their ease and pleasure, being wholly taken up with shows, sports, and festivals.

98. They were naturally too much addicted to these amusements, and they had formerly been encouraged in them by Peri

cles, who knew how to lead them by their inclinations, and took this method to ingratiate himself, and to divert them from inspecting too narrowly into his administration. But they now carried their diversions to a much higher pitch of extravagance.

99. They had such a passion for the stage, that it stifled in them all other thoughts either of business or of glory. In short, the decorations and other charges attending the theatre, were so excessive, that Plutarch says, "It cost more to represent some of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides than it had done to carry on the war against the barbarians."

100. And in order to support this charge, they seized upon the fund which had been set apart for the war, with a prohibition upon pain of death, ever to advise the applying of it to any other purpose. They not only reversed this decree, but went as far the other way, making it death to propose the restoring the fund to the uses to which it had before been appropriated, under the same penalties.

101. By diverting the course of the supplies in so extraordinary a manner, and entertaining the idle citizen at the expense of the soldier and mariner, they seemed to have no remains of that spirit and vigour which they had exerted in the Persian wars, when they demolished their houses to furnish out a navy, and when the women stoned a man to death, who proposed to appease the Great King (as he was called) by paying tribute, and doing homage.

102. In this general remissness, it was not to be supposed that their allies would treat them with the respect they demanded.

A. J. C. Most of the states, that had hitherto been in alliance with them, and had found security under their protection,
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tion, took up arms against them. In reducing these, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus gained great reputation; and are supposed to have been consummate generals; but their successes are too minute to rank them among the class of eminent commanders; and whatever their skill might have been, there wanted a great occasion for its display.

103. This war opened with the siege of Chio, in which the Athenians were repulsed; and Chabrias, unwilling to abandon his vessel, preferred death to flight. The siege of Byzantium followed, before which the fleet of the contending powers was dispersed by a storm, in consequence of which the Athenian generals were recalled. Timotheus was fined a great sum, but being too poor to pay he went into voluntary banishment.

104. Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself, but he got off by his eloquence; and in the mean time, the affairs of Athens succeeded but ill under the guidance of Charis, who was

left sole commander. A peace was concluded, whereby every city and people were left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and thus the war of the allies ended after having continued three years.

105. During these transactions, a power was growing up in Greece, hitherto unobserved, but now too conspicuous and formidable to be overlooked in the general picture—this was that of the Macedonians, a people hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous, and who, though warlike and hardy, had never yet presumed to intermeddle in the affairs of Greece; but now several circumstances concurred to raise them from obscurity, and to involve them in measures which, by degrees, wrought a thorough change in the state of Greece. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin with a short account of their power and origin, before we enter into a detail of that conspicuous part which they afterwards performed on the theatre of the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

From the Birth to the Death of Philip, King of Macedon.

1. THE people of Macedon were hitherto considered as making no part of the Grecian confederacy; they were looked upon as borderers, as men, in a measure semi-barbarians; who boasted indeed of taking their origin from the Greeks, but who hitherto neither possessed their politeness, nor enjoyed their freedom; they had little or no intercourse with their mother country; they had contracted the habits and manners of the natives where they were settled, and, from thence, they were treated with similar disrespect.

2. The first king who is mentioned with any degree of certainty to have reigned in Macedonia, was Caranus, by birth an Argive, and said to be the sixteenth in descent from Hercules. It was upon this foundation, that Philip afterwards grounded his pretensions to be of the race of Hercules, and assumed to him divine honours. Caranus, therefore, is commonly reputed to have led forth a body of his countrymen, by the advice of the oracle, into these parts where he settled, and made himself king.

3. Caranus, having according to the general account, reigned twenty-eight years, the succession was continued after him to the times we are now treating of. But there is very little worth notice recorded of these kings, they being chiefly employed in defending themselves against the incursions of their neighbours. And as to their domestic affairs, they were remarkable only for the frequent murders and usurpations which happened in the royal family.

4. Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians, and, in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city.

5. He was restored to the throne by the Thessalians, upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks; and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours; and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin.

6. Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years; he left three legitimate children:—namely, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander, the eldest son, reigned but one year. Perdiccas, the second brother, was opposed by Pausanias, who began by seizing some fortresses: but by the assistance of Iphicrates, the Athenian general, the usurper was expelled, and Perdiccas the lawful sovereign confirmed on the throne.

7. He did not, however, long continue in tranquillity. Ptolemy, a natural son of Amyntas, laid claim to the crown; and disputed his title; which, by mutual consent, was referred to Pelopidas the Theban, a man more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age.

8. Euridice, at her leaving this much loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going a hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son.

9. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war, or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher: that is to say

a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander, as well as a great statesman.

10. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy could he have copied him perfectly! perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions; which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of that illustrious personage. But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip did not acquire by imitation.

11. The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he stole away, made the utmost expedition, and found the Macedonians greatly surprised at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours.

12. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a much greater force; the Pæonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantios, their general, was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops.

13. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child; Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir to the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and, instead of the heir, set *him* upon the throne, whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly, Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne, the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

14. Never did the present condition of the Macedonians require a man of more prudence and activity. They were surrounded with as many enemies as they had neighbours. The Illyrians, flushed with their late victory, were preparing to march against them with a great army. The Pæonians were making daily incursions upon them; and at the same time, the title to the crown was contested by Pausanias and Argæus; the former whereof was supported by the Thracians; and the latter by the

Athenians, who, for that purpose, had sent out a good fleet, and three thousand landmen.

15. Under these circumstances, with so many enemies on his hands at once; and that before he was settled on his throne; his first care was to make sure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raise their spirits; for they were very much disheartened, having lost above four thousand men in the late action with the Illyrians. He succeeded in these points, by the artfulness of his address, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master.

16. His next step was to train and exercise them, and reform their discipline: and it was at this time that he instituted the famous Macedonian Phalanx, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manner of fighting among the Grecians, who generally drew up their foot so close, as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen thousand men; though it was also taken in general for any company or party of soldiers, and frequently for the whole body of foot.

17. But this of Philip's invention is described by Polybius to be a long square, consisting of eight thousand pike-men, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front; the men standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front makes their pikes useless, rested them upon the shoulders of those who stood before them, and so locking them together in file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible.

18. When Philip had made some proper regulation of his affairs at home, he began to look abroad in order to divert the storms which threatened him from all quarters. By money and promises, he made up matters for the present with such of his enemies as lay nearest him; and then turned his forces against the Athenians, who were marched up to Methrone, to assist Argæus.

19. He gave them battle, and defeated them: and the death of Argæus, who was killed in the action, put an end to that dispute; for he permitted the Athenians, when they were in his power, to return home. This instance of his moderation, gained so far upon them, that they soon after concluded a peace with him: which yet he observed no longer than it served his design of securing the other part of his dominions.

20. Accordingly, he marched northward, where he declared war against the Pæonians, and subdued them; then fell upon the Illyrians, and having killed above seven thousand of them in a pitched battle, obliged them to restore all their conquests in Ma-

cedonia. He had also obstructed the passage of the Thracians ; but yet did not think it sufficiently secured, without making himself master of Amphipolis, which was very commodiously situated on the river Strymon, and was the key of that side of his dominions. He knew the importance of it, therefore he possessed himself of it in the beginning of his reign.

21. This was the ground of his quarrel with the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies ; and made such a point of it, that their setting up Argæus against him, was not so much for his own sake, and for the credit of imposing a king upon the Macedonians, as it was with a view to get the city restored to them by his means, in case he should have succeeded in his intentions. Philip was sensible of their drift, and finding it necessary at that time to keep some measures with them, would neither keep the place himself, nor let them have it, but took a middle course, and declared it a free city ; thereby leaving the inhabitants to throw off their dependence upon their old masters, and making it appear to be their own act.

22. But the city continued no longer in this state, than until he found himself at liberty to make a more thorough conquest of it ; which at this time he easily effected, through the remissness of the Athenians, who refused to send any relief to it, alleging in their excuse, that it would be a breach of the peace which they had concluded with Philip the year before. But the truth is he tricked them out of it by a promise of delivering it up to them.

23. But instead of keeping his word with them, he made further encroachments, by seizing on Pydna and Potidæa, the latter of which being garrisoned by Athenians, he drew them out, and sent them home ; but dismissed them with such marks of civility, as showed that he avoided coming to an open rupture with that state, at least until his designs were more ripe for it ; though at the same time he did what he could to weaken them, and drive them out of his neighbourhood. Pydna, with the territory belonging to it, he gave up to the Olynthians, who were his father's inveterate enemies.

24. His hands were too full at this time to revive the quarrel against so rich and powerful a city, which for three years together, had withstood the united forces of Sparta and Macedonia ; he, therefore, chose to buy their friendship for the present, and to amuse them by the delivery of this town, as he had done the Athenians by the peace, until he could attack them at more advantage. In this step also, he over-reached the Athenians, who were at the same time courting the alliance of the Olynthians, in order to maintain their footing in those parts. Which side soever the Olynthians inclined to they were strong enough to turn

the balance ; and therefore, the gaining them became a matter of great contention between Philip and the Athenians.

25. From thence he proceeded to seize the city of Crenides, which had been built two years before, and then called it Philippi, from his own name. It was here that he discovered a gold mine, which every year produced a hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling. This, which was an immense sum for that age, was much more serviceable than fleets or armies in fighting his battles ; and he seldom failed using it in every negociation. It is said that consulting the oracle at Delphos, concerning the success of an intended expedition, he was answered by the priestess, " That with silver spears he should conquer all things. " He took the advice of the oracle, and his success was answerable to its wisdom : indeed he was less proud of the success of a battle, than of a negociation ; well knowing, that his soldiers and generals shared in the one, but that the honour of the latter was wholly his own.

26. But a larger field was now opening to his ambition. The mutual divisions of the states of Greece were at no time wholly cemented ; and they broke out now upon a very particular occasion. The first cause of the rupture, (which was afterwards called the Sacred War) arose from the Phocians having ploughed up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delphos. Against this all the neighbouring states exclaimed as a sacrilege : they were cited before the council of Amphictyons, who particularly took cognisance of sacred matters : they were cast, and a heavy fine imposed upon them. This the Phocians were unable to pay ; they refused to submit to the decree, alleging that the care and patronage of the temple anciently belonged to them ; and to vindicate this, they quoted a precedent from Homer.

27. Philomelas, one of their chief citizens, was principally instrumental in encouraging them to arms ; he raised their ardour, and was appointed their general. He first applied himself to the Spartans, who had likewise been fined by the Amphictyons, at the instance of the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, for having seized the Cadmea. For this reason they were very well disposed to join with him ; but did not yet think it proper to declare themselves. However, they encouraged his design, and supplied him underhand with money, by which means he raised troops ; and, without much difficulty got possession of the temple.

28. The chief resistance he met with in the neighbourhood, was from the Locrians ; but having worsted them, he erased the decree of the Amphictyons, which was inscribed on the pillars of the temple. However, to strengthen his authority, and give

a colour to his proceedings, he thought convenient to consult the oracle, and to procure an answer in his favour. But when he applied to the priestess for that purpose, she refused to officiate, until being intimidated by his threats, she told him, "the god left him at liberty to act as he pleased," which he looked upon as a good answer and as such took care to divulge it.

29. The Amphictyons, meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god: whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocians. Philomelas had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in the deity's defence; for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

30. Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every one knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die, as sacrilegious wretches who were excommunicated; the Phocians did the same, by way of reprisal.

31. These had at first gained several advantages, but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelas their leader being closely attacked on an eminence, from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery; which however not availing, he threw himself from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must undoubtedly have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Oenomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

32. Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter, in this general movement of the Greeks, in favour either of the Phocians or the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion, or the interests of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests, without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both

parties weaken and consume each other; as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards to greater advantage.

33. Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made there, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and razed it. Aster of Amphipolis had offered his services to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer—"Well, I will take you into my service, when I make war upon starlings:" which answer stung the archer to the quick.

34. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it. After having thrown down himself into the city he let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's right eye." This carried a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman, for he hit him in the right eye; and Philip sent him back the same arrow with this inscription: "If Philip takes the city he will hang up Aster:" and accordingly he was as good as his word. A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish.

35. After taking the city, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests or gain more friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly which had implored his assistance against its tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who in concert with his wife Theba, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke.

36. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers, who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocians. Oenomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces; and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea shore: upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Oenomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea, by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion.

37. Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This was his first attempt to get

footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocians, he marched towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica.

38. An admission of foreigners into Greece, was a measure that was always formidable to those who called themselves Grecians. The Athenians, hearing of a march which might prove of the utmost consequence, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves of this important pass, which Philip did not care attempting to force. The Athenians were roused from their lethargy of pleasure, to make use of this precaution, by the persuasions of Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, who from the beginning saw the ambition of Philip, and the power of which he was possessed to carry him through his designs.

39. This illustrious orator and statesman, who we shall hereafter find acting so considerable a part in the course of this history, was born in the last year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionysius, who in his epistle to Lamacus hath accurately distinguished the different periods of his life; and the times in which his several orations were delivered. He was the son not of a mean and obscure mechanic, as the Roman satirist hath represented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raised a considerable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of seven years he lost his father; and, to add to his misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intrusted, wasted and embezzled a considerable part of his inheritance.

40. Thus oppressed by fraud, and discouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet discovered an early ambition to distinguish himself as a popular speaker. The applause bestowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager desire of meriting the like honour. Isocrates and Isæus were then the two most eminent professors of eloquence at Athens. The soft and florid manner of the former did by no means suit the genius of Demosthenes: Isæus was more vigorous and energetic, and his style better suited to public business.

41. To him, therefore, he applied; and, under his direction pursued those studies which might accomplish him for the character to which he aspired. His first essay was made against his guardian, by whom he had been so injuriously treated; but the goodness of his cause was here of more service than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromis-

ing, and soon convinced him of the necessity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His close and severe application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known : and have been too frequently the subjects of historians and critics ancient and modern, to need a minute recital.

42. His character as a statesman will be best recollected from the history of his conduct in the present transactions. As an orator, the reader perhaps is not to be informed of his qualifications. Indeed, the study of oratory was at that time the readiest and almost the only means of rising in the state. His first essay at the bar was two years after this incident, when he called his guardians to account for embezzling his patrimony, and recovered some part of it. This encouraged him some time after to harangue before the people in their public assembly, but he acquitted himself so ill that they hissed him.

43. However he ventured a second time, but with no better success than before, so that he went away ashamed, confounded, and quite in despair. It was upon this occasion that Satyrus the player accosted him, and in a friendly way encouraged him to proceed. With this view he asked him to repeat to him some verses of Sophocles, or Euripides, which he accordingly did : the other repeated them after him, but with such a different spirit and cadence, as made him sensible that he knew very little of elocution.

44. But by his instructions, and his own perseverance, at length he made himself master of it ; and by the methods before mentioned, corrected the imperfections which were born with him as well as the ill habits which he had contracted. It is not very clear whether this passage be rightly ascribed to Satyrus, who seems to be confounded with Neoptolemus and Andronicus, who were likewise famous comedians ; and Demosthenes is said to have been instructed by all the three.

45. With these advantages and improvements, he appeared again in public, and succeeded so well, that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him. From thence he was looked upon as the standard of true eloquence : insomuch that none of his countrymen have been put in comparison with him ; nor even among the Romans, any but Cicero. And though it has been made a question by the ancient writers, to which of the two they should give the preference, they have not ventured to decide it, but have contented themselves with describing their different beauties, and showing, that they were both perfect in their kind.

46. His eloquence was grave and austere like his temper : masculine and sublime, bold, forcible, and impetuous, abounding

with metaphors, apostrophes, and interrogations; which, with his solemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, elements, and the manes of those who fell at Salamis and Marathon, had such a wonderful effect upon his hearers that they thought him inspired.

47. If he had not so much softness and insinuation as is often requisite in an orator, it was not that he wanted art and delicacy, when the case required it: he knew how to sound the inclinations of the people, and to lead them to the point he aimed at; and sometimes, by seeming to propose that which was directly the contrary.

48. But his chief characteristic was vehemence, both in action and expression: and, indeed, that was the qualification of all others most wanted at this time: for the people were grown so insolent and imperious, so factious and divided, so jealous of the power of the democracy, and withal so sunk into a state of pleasure and indolence, that no arts of persuasion would have been so effectual, as that spirit and resolution, that force and energy of Demosthenes, to humble them, and to rouse them into a sense of their common danger.

49. But neither could Demosthenes himself have made such impressions on them, if his talent of speaking had not been supported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphasis to every thing he said, and animated the whole. It was that which chiefly engaged their attention and determined their counsels, when they were convinced that he spoke from his heart, and had no interest to manage, but that of the community: and this he gave the strongest proofs of, in his zeal against Philip, who said, he was of more weight against him than all the fleets and armies of Athens, and that he had no enemy but Demosthenes. He was not wanting in his endeavours to corrupt him, as he had most of the leading men in Greece: but this great orator withstood all his offers; and, as it was observed, all the gold in Macedon could not bribe him.

50. When Philip found himself shut out of Greece by the Athenians, he turned his arms against those remote places which depended on them, either as colonies or as conquests; and particularly against the Olynthians, whom he had long looked upon with an evil eye: but had courted and cajoled them, whilst he was otherwise employed. But he came now resolved entirely to reduce them; and advancing towards the city, only sent them a short message, to let them know, that one of these two points was become necessary: either that they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia.

51. Whereupon they sent immediately to Athens for relief.

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The subject was debated there with great solemnity; and Demosthenes was very earnest in sending them succours: he was opposed by Demades and Hyperides. The opinion, however, of Demosthenes prevailed: the people of Athens resolved to unite against Philip; but the great difficulty lay in furnishing the supplies: their principal fund, which had formerly served the purposes of war, had long been converted to the use of the stage.

52. The money arising from this fund was computed at a thousand talents a-year; and a certain proportion of it was allotted to the citizens, to defray the charge of their admittance into the theatre. This distribution having been continued to them from the time of Pericles, they claimed it now as their right, especially since they had lately obtained a law, which made it capital to propose the restoring the fund to the uses for which it was originally granted. Hence it was, that upon any pressing emergency, extraordinary taxes were to be raised; and they were laid so unequally, and collected with so much difficulty, that they seldom answered the service for which they were intended.

53. Demosthenes treated this subject with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprise of their aspiring enemy, he asserted, that the theatrical fund was the only probable means of supply. These remonstrances had some weight, but were not attended with deserved success. The Athenians sent a reinforcement to Olynthus; but Philip, who had corrupted the principal men in the town, entered, plundered it, and sold the inhabitants among the rest of the spoil. Here he found much treasure, which served to assist him in his further encroachments.

54. In the mean time, the Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocians, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the Sacred War, and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself; that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war which equally exhausted both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness and those ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them.

55. The instant, therefore, they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocians. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed of obtaining an entrance into Greece; in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties,

which at that time divided all Greece; that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense, as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece.

56. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power, to support themselves in their declining condition: he therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at the heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired with regard to the violated god: and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means, the esteem and friendship of the Greeks.

57. There was nothing Philip had more at heart than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the Sacred War to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was therefore desirous of aiding the Thebans; and by their means to possess himself of Phocis. But then, in order to put his double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes: and who, for many years, had been in alliance with the Phocians. His business, therefore, was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their views; and on this occasion, the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

58. The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war, which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phyrnon, to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed in regard to peace. These related, that Philip did not appear averse to it and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth.

59. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to inquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip; viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back, with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths.

60. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy, had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to

return and ransom them at his own expense, endeavoured to enable himself to keep his word : and in the mean time, advised his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded ; and to wait, as soon as possible, upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy despatch, as they were desired, went like ambassadors ; proceeded to Macedonia by land ; staid three months in that country ; and gave Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace.

61. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agreed with him upon articles of peace : but he, having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. In the mean time he found means to corrupt the ambassadors, one after another, by presents, Demosthenes excepted ; who, being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

62. Philip being suffered quietly to pursue his march into Phocis, gained the straits of Thermopylæ ; but did not immediately discover what use he intended to make of his entrance into Greece : but went on, according to his agreement with the Thebans, to put an end to the Phocian war, which he easily effected. His name and appearance struck such a terror among the Phocians, that though they had lately received a reinforcement of a thousand heavy armed Spartans under the command of their king Archidamus, they declined giving him battle ; and sent to treat with him, or rather to submit themselves to any terms that he would give them.

63. He allowed Phalicus to retire, with eight thousand men, being mercenaries, into Peloponnesus ; but the rest, who were the inhabitants of Phocis, were left at his mercy. As the disposing of them was a matter wherein Greece in general was concerned, he did not think fit to act in it by his own private authority ; but referred it to the Amphictyons, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose. But they were so much under his influence, that they served only to give a sanction to his determinations.

64. They decreed, that all the cities of Phocis should be demolished ; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in sacrilege, should be stigmatised as accursed, and proscribed as outlaws : that they who remained as inhabitants should be dispersed in the villages, and obliged to pay out of their lands a yearly tribute of sixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple should be restored : they were likewise adjudged to lose their seat in the council of the Amphictyons, wherein they had a double voice.

65. This Philip got transferred to himself, which was a very

material point: and may be looked upon as the principal step towards his gaining that authority which he afterwards exercised in the affairs of Greece. At the same time, he gained, in conjunction with the Thebans and Thessalians, the superintendency of the Pythian games, which the Corinthians had forfeited, for their having taken part with the Phocians.

66. Philip having, by these plausible methods, succeeded in this expedition, did not think it advisable, by attempting any thing further at present, to sully the glory he had acquired by it, or to incense the body of the Grecians against him; wherefore he returned in a triumphant manner to his dominions. After settling his conquests at home, he marched into Thessaly, and having extirpated the remains of tyranny in the several cities there, he not only conformed the Thessalians in his interest, but gained over many of their neighbours.

67. It was upon this occasion that Philip is remarked for an act of private justice, which far outweighs his public celebrity. A soldier, in the Macedonian army, had, in many instances, distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On some occasion he embarked on board a vessel which was wrecked by a violent storm, and he himself cast on the shore helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, came opportunely to be witness of his distress; and with all humane and charitable tenderness, flew to the relief of the unhappy stranger.

68. He bore him to his house, laid him in his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and for forty days supplied him freely with all the necessaries and conveniences which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expressions of gratitude to his benefactor, assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him from the royal bounty, the noble returns which such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money to pursue his journey.

69. In some time after he presented himself before the king; he recounted his misfortunes; magnified his services; and this inhuman wretch, who had looked with an eye of envy on the possessions of the man who had preserved his life, was now so abandoned to all sense of gratitude, as to request the king would bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily, Philip, without examination, inconsiderately and precipitately granted his infamous request; and this soldier now returned to his preserver, repaid

his goodness by driving him from his settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry.

70. The poor man, stung with this instance of unparalleled ingratitude and insensibility, boldly determined, instead of submitting to his wrongs, to seek relief, and in a letter addressed to Philip, represented his own, and the soldier's conduct, in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with indignation; he ordered that justice should be done without delay; that the possessions should be immediately restored to the man whose charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid; and having seized this soldier, caused these words to be branded on his forehead—*The Ungrateful Guest*; a character infamous in every age, and among all nations, but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

71. Having strengthened himself in these parts, he went the next year into Thrace, where he had formed a design against the Chersonese. This peninsula had, with some little interruption, been for many years in the hands of the Athenians, but Cotys, as being king of the country, had lately wrested it from them, and left it in succession to his son Chersobleptes. He not being able to defend himself against Philip, gave it back to the Athenians, reserving to himself only Cardia, the capital city. But Philip having soon after spoiled him of the rest of his dominions, the Cardians, for fear of falling again under the power of the Athenians, threw themselves into his protection.

72. Diophites, who was the chief of the Athenian colony, lately sent to the Chersonese, considered this proceeding of Philip, in supporting the Cardians, as an act of hostility against Athens; whereupon he invaded the maritime parts of Thrace, and carried away a great deal of booty. Philip being at this time in the upper part of the country, was not in a condition to do himself justice; but he wrote to complain of it at Athens, as an infraction of the peace; and his creatures there were not wanting on their part to aggravate the charge against Diophites, as having acted without orders, and taking it upon himself to renew the war; they likewise accused him of committing acts of piracy, and of laying their allies under contribution.

73. But whatever grounds there were for this part of the accusation, the government of Athens was principally to blame in it; for having no proper fund for the wars, they sent out their generals without money or provisions, and left them to shift for themselves, and yet made them answerable for any miscarriages that should happen for want of their being better supplied. This was a great discouragement to the service, and put those who

were employed in it upon pillaging and plundering in such a manner as they would otherwise have been ashamed of. Demosthenes, in a harangue that he made upon the state of the Chersonese, undertook the defence of Diopithes.

74. Philip, however, was no way intimidated at the wordy resistance of his eloquent antagonist; he went on with artful industry, quelling those by his power who were unable to resist, and those by his presents whom he was unable to oppose. The divisions that then subsisted in Peloponnesus, gave him a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the Greek confederacy. These divisions were chiefly owing to the Spartans, who having little to do in the late foreign transactions, were recovering their strength at home; and according to their usual practice, as they increased in power, made use of it to insult and oppress their neighbours.

75. The Argives and Messenians being at this time persecuted by them, put themselves under the protection of Philip: and the Thebans joining with them, they altogether formed a powerful confederacy. The natural balance against it was a union between Athens and Sparta, which the Spartans pressed with great earnestness, as the only means for their common security; and Philip and the Thebans did all in their power to prevent it. But Demosthenes exerting himself upon this occasion, roused up the Athenians, and put them so far upon their guard, that without coming to an open rupture with Philip, they obliged him to desist.

76. Philip, however, did not continue idle upon this disappointment. Ever restless and enterprising, he turned his views another way; he had long considered the island of Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the shackles of Greece.

77. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy, especially, as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge; however, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent, whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents, bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. At the request of certain of the inhabitants he sent some troops privately thither, possessed himself of several strong places, dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country.

78. The Athenians were conjured, in this distressing juncture,

by one Plutarch, who was at that time upon the island, to come and deliver the inhabitants from the yoke which Philip was going to impose upon them. Upon this, they despatched a few troops thither under the command of Phocion, a general of whom great expectations were formed, and whose conduct well deserved the favourable opinion the public had of him.

79. This man would have done honour to the early and least corrupted times of the Athenian state. His manners were formed in the academy, upon the models of the most exact and rigid virtue. It was said, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh or weep, or deviate in any instance from the most settled gravity and composure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias, and frequently moderated the excesses, and corrected the errors of that general; his humanity he admired and imitated, and taught him to exert it in a more extensive and liberal manner.

80. When he had received his directions to sail with twenty ships, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities; "Why that force," said Phocion, "if I am to meet them as enemies, it is insufficient; if I am sent to friends and allies, a single vessel will serve." He bore the severities of a military life with so much ease, that if Phocion ever appeared, warmly clothed, the soldiers at once pronounced it the sign of a remarkably bad season. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his conversation easy and obliging; and all his words and actions expressed the utmost affection and benevolence.

81. In popular assemblies, his lively, close, and natural manner of speaking, seemed as it were the echo of the simplicity and integrity of his mind, and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demosthenes, who called him the pruner of his periods. He studied only good sense and plain reasoning, and despised every adventitious ornament. In an assembly, when he was to address the people, he was surprised by a friend, wrapped up in thought: "I am considering," said he, "whether I cannot retrench some part of my intended address."

82. He was sensible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greatest severity. He desired their censures; and so far did he affect to despise their applause, that at a time when his sentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about in surprise, and asked a friend, "If any thing weak or impertinent had escaped him?" His sense of the degeneracy of Athens, made him fond of pacific measures.

83. He saw the designs of Philip, but imagined that the state was too corrupted to give him any effectual opposition; so that he was of the number of those men, who, according to Demosthenes in his third Philippic oration, gave up the interests of the state, not

corruptly or ignorantly, but from a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a constitution, thought to be irrecoverably lost.

84. He was of consequence ever of the party opposite to Demosthenes ; and having been taught by experience to suspect the popular leaders, considered his earnestness to rouse the Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the state, and by that means to gain an influence in the assembly. "Phocion," said Demosthenes, "the people in some mad fit will certainly sacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes," replied he, "and you will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reason."

85. Yet they often prevailed on him to act against his judgment, though never to speak against his conscience. He never refused or declined the command, whatever might be his opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he chosen to lead their armies ; generally in his absence, and ever without the least application. They knew his merit, and in the hour of danger forgot that severity with which he usually treated their inclinations and opinions.

86. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Etreria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude ; he set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy, for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Etreria.

87. These disappointments, however, no way intimidated Philip, or rendered him the least remiss in prosecuting his original design. He now therefore changed the method of his attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion, of their transports, and by that means starve the Athenians, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander behind, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old.

88. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage ; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing, lest allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsider-

ately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him in order to become his master, and form him, in person, for the trade of war.

89. In the mean time, Philip opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace, and firmly attached to the Athenians. It was assisted from Byzantium, a neighbouring city, which drew in succours as occasion required. Philip, therefore, resolved to besiege both at the same time. Still, however, he was desirous to appear cautious and tender of displeasing the Athenians, whom he endeavoured to amuse with the most profound respect, mixed with well-timed abuses, and the most flattering submission.

90. Upon this occasion he wrote them a letter, reproaching them in the strongest terms, for their infraction of treaties, and his own religious observance of them. "In the times of great enmity," says he, "the most you did was to fit out ships of war against me, and to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; but now you carry your hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the king of Persia, to make him declare against me."

91. This letter gave the orators, who undertook Philip's defence, a fine opportunity of justifying him to the people. Demosthenes alone stood firm, and still continued to expose his artful designs, and to break down all those laboured schemes which were undertaken to deceive the people. Sensible, on this occasion, how necessary it was to remove the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make, he immediately ascended the tribune, and from thence harangued the people, with all the thunder of his eloquence.

92. He told them the letter was written in a style not suitable to the people of Athens; that it was a plain declaration of war against them; that Philip had long since made the same declaration by his actions; and that by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing further than a bare cessation of arms, in order to gain time and to take them more unprepared. From thence he proceeded to his usual topic of reproving them for their sloth, for suffering themselves to be deceived by their orators who were in Philip's pay.

93. "Convinced by these truths," continued he, "O Athenians! and strongly persuaded that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for Philip has now declared war against us by his letter, and has done the same by his conduct) you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head, than those you have hitherto employed; for no one among you

ought to imagine that the same men who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation.

94. "Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should condemn dangers to such a degree, that merely to aggrandise his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds; and that the Athenians, whose hereditary right is to obey no man, but to impose law on others, sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country!" To this expostulation, Phocion readily offered his voice and opinion. He urged the incapacity of the generals already chosen; and in consequence of his advice, he himself was appointed general of the army that was to go against Philip, who was still besieging Byzantium.

95. Phocion having led his troops to the succour of the Byzantians, the inhabitants, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct; nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve.

96. Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships; recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned; and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire.

97. Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty; he got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold and silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know, but in cattle, horses, and a great number of women and children.

98. At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moesia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the

plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot; the king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

99. The Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had brought upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentment. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military wants, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers: but Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion, the genius and character of Philip, was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

100. When Philip found the Athenians would not treat with him, and that they were acting offensively against him, especially at sea, where they blocked up his ports, and put an entire stop to his commerce, he began to form new alliances against them, particularly with the Thebans and Thessalians, without whom he knew he could not keep open the passage into Greece.

101. At the same time he was sensible, that his engaging these powers to act directly against Athens, and in his own personal quarrel, would have so bad an aspect, that they would not easily come into it. For which reason he endeavoured, underhand, to create new disturbances in Greece, that he might take such a part in them as would best answer his views: and when the flame was kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an assistant, than to act as a principal.

102. By the result of his machinations, he soon found an opportunity of raising divisions between the Locrians of Amphissa, and their capital city. They were accused for having profaned a spot of sacred ground (which lay very near the temple of Delphos) by poughing it, as the Phocians had done upon a former occasion. In order to produce and widen this breach, Philip employed Æschines the orator, who by bribes was entirely devoted to him; to harangue at the assembly of the Amphictyons against this outrage upon the religion of their country.

103. Æschines was a man of great abilities, and only second in eloquence to Demosthenes. He had now a fair opportunity of raising commotions by appearing only interested for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a

passionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well as of real patriotism, and which is most likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular assemblies, by being considered as the indication of sincerity, and the overflowing of a heart honestly affected, he boldly delivered his opinions.

104. His sentiments were echoed through the assembly by the friends of Philip; the tumult was kept up to destroy all remonstrances of caution and policy, and a resolution was passed, that a deputation should be sent to Philip king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages of the impious Amphissoeans; and farther to declare, that he was constituted, by all the Greeks, member of the council of Amphictyons, and general and commander of their forces, with full and unlimited powers.

105. This welcome invitation and commission, the fruit of all his secret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to Macedon. He bowed with an affectionate reverence to the venerable council, and declared his readiness to execute their orders. The inferior states of Greece, and all those whose simplicity and weakness rendered them insensible to the designs now forming by Philip, entirely approved of the act of the Amphictyons; and of the nomination of a prince to the command of their forces, so eminent and illustrious for his piety, and so capable of executing the vengeance of Heaven. At Sparta and at Athens, this event was considered in a different manner.

106. The first of these people, though possessed but of a small part of their ancient greatness, yet still retained their pride, and seemed to have looked with a sullen indignation at the honours paid Macedon: the Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip, and now their great popular leader repeatedly urged the necessity of suspicion, and represented all the late transactions in the Amphictyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and a design against Greece in general, but more particularly against the welfare and liberty of Athens.

107. To counteract the zeal of Demosthenes, and to prevent the effects of his incessant remonstrances, the minds of the people were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all solemnity from the sacred tripod, and reported to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was pronounced against all those who should presume to oppose the king of Macedon, the destined instrument of divine justice; and the people were exhorted not to suffer artful and designing orators, and popular leaders, to seduce them to their ruin.

108. In the mean time, Philip immediately got his troops together; and with all the show of religious veneration, began to

march, in order to chastise the irreverent Locrians. But he had far different aims : and instead of proceeding upon so ridiculous a commission, made a sudden turn, and seized upon Elatea, a capital city of Phocis, which was very well situated for awing the Thebans, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for preparing his way to Athens. But by so extraordinary a step as this, he fairly threw off the mask, and bade defiance to the whole body of Grecians.

109. Thus was this enterprising prince, all of a sudden, master of a port of the utmost consequence ; at the head of an army, capable of striking terror into his opposers ; at the distance of but two days march from Attica ; absolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortress, both of Thebes and Athens ; conveniently situated for receiving succours from Thessaly and Macedonia ; and entirely at liberty either to give battle to those who might presume to appear in arms against him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

110. The news of Philip's recent transaction was quickly spread through the adjacent countries ; and received with all the stupid and helpless astonishment of men roused from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful sense of their danger, and of the real designs of their enemy. It was late in the evening when a courier arriving at Athens, appeared before the Prytanes, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedonia had taken possession of Elatea.

111. These magistrates, and all the other citizens, were now at supper, indulging themselves in the pleasures and gaieties of the table, when the news, which in an instant rung through all the city, roused them from their state of ease, and put an end to all their festivity. The streets and public places were instantly filled with a distracted concourse ; every man with terror and confusion in his countenance ; and every man solicitous for an immediate consultation, on an emergency so important and alarming.

112. At the dawn of the succeeding day, the assembly met together, impressed with that consternation which urgent danger naturally inspires. The whole body of the people flocked to the senate house, seized their places, and waited with the utmost anxiety for so important a deliberation. The herald, as was the custom at Athens, arose, and cried out with a loud voice, " Who among you will ascend the tribunal ? " All however was silence, terror and dismay : he again repeated the invitation ; but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present. At length Demosthenes, animated with the greatness of the approaching danger, arose, undaunted and unmoved in this scene of horror.

113. With a countenance of serenity, the firm composure of a patriot, and the sage discernment of a complete statesman, he addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner : " Athenians ! permit me to explain the circumstances of that state which Philip has now seized upon. Those of its citizens whom his gold could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all at his devotion. What then is his design ? By drawing up his forces, and displaying his powers on the borders of Thebes, he hopes to inspire his adherents with confidence and elevation, and to terrify and control his adversaries, that fear or force may drive them into those measures which we have hitherto opposed.

114. " If then, we are resolved in this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of every act of unkindness, which the Thebans have done to Athens ; if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged themselves on the side of our enemy ; in the first place we shall act agreeably to Philip's warmest wishes ; and then I am apprehensive, that the party who now oppose him, may be brought over to his interest ; the whole city submit unanimously to his direction ; and Thebes and Macedon, fall, with their united force on Attica.

115. " Grant the due attention to what I shall now propose ; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers now impending over the state. What then do I recommend ? First shake off that terror which hath possessed your minds ; and instead of fearing for yourselves, let the Thebans be the objects of your apprehensions ; they are more immediately affected ; they are the first to feel the dangers.

116. " In the next place, all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, should march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you are also assembled in arms : and your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert their rights, when they are assured, that as they who have sold their country to the Macedonians, have a force at Elatea to support them, so you are ready to assist the men who bravely contend for liberty.

117. " In the first place, I recommend to you to nominate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, may have full authority to determine the time, and all other circumstances of his march. When these ambassadors arrive at Thebes, how are they to conduct this great affair ? This is a point worthy of your most serious attention. Make no demands of the Thebans : at this conjuncture it would be dishonourable : assure them that your assistance is ready for their acceptance, as you are justly

affected by their danger, and have been so happy as to foresee and to guard against it.

118. "If they approve of your sentiments, and embrace your overtures, we shall effect our great purpose, and act with a dignity worthy of our state. But should it happen that we are not so successful, whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves shall they be imputed; while your conduct shall appear, in no one instance, inconsistent with the honour and renown of Athens."

119. This oration, delivered with ease and resolution, did not want its due effect; it was received with universal applause, and Demosthenes himself was instantly chosen to head the embassy which he had now proposed. A decree, in pursuance of his advice, was drawn up in form; with an additional clause, that a fleet of two hundred sail should be fitted out to cruise near Thermopylæ.

120. In consequence of this, Demosthenes set out for Thebes, making the more haste, as he was sensible that Philip might overrun Attica in two days. Philip, on the other hand, in order to oppose the eloquence of Demosthenes, sent ambassadors to Thebes, among whom was Python, who particularly distinguished himself by the liveliness of his orations. But his persuasive powers were far inferior to those of Demosthenes, who overcame all opposition. The masculine eloquence of Demosthenes was irresistible; and kindled in the souls of the Thebans, so warm a zeal for their country, and so strong a passion for freedom, that they were no longer masters of themselves; laying aside all fear and gratitude, and all prudential considerations.

121. That which animated Demosthenes, next to his public safety, was his having to do with a man of Python's abilities; and he some time after took occasion to value himself upon the victory he had obtained over him. "I did not give way," said he, "to the boasting Python, when he would have borne me down with a torrent of words."—He gloried more in the success of this negotiation, than of any other he had been employed in, and spoke of it as his masterpiece in politics.

122. Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour.

123. However, many evil disposed persons endeavored to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens, and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered.

But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions.

124. It was on this occasion, he said, the priestess Philippised; meaning that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

125. Philip, on his part, well knowing that the bravery and spirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might enable them to improve their advantages, and conscious also of his own abilities, and the weakness of those generals who commanded the Greeks, determined to bring on a general engagement, where his superior skill must appear of the greatest moment. For this purpose he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chæronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important contest.

126. Here he chose his station, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, as if resolved to fight in his presence; to make him witness of the actions of his descendants, and to commit his forces and his cause to the immediate protection of this hero. Some ancient oracles were preserved, which seemed to point out the spot on which he now encamped, as the scene of some dreadful calamity to Greece.

127. His army was formed of thirty two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long enured to the toils and dangers of the field; but this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete, of which the Athenians and Thebans furnished the greatest part; the rest was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. The same motives, and the same zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event; and all equally resolved to conquer or die in defence of liberty.

128. On the eve of the decisive day, Diogenes, the famous cynic, who had long looked with equal contempt on either party, was led by curiosity to visit the camps as an unconcerned spectator. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and person were not known, he was stopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expressed surprise at a stran-

ger's presuming to approach his camp ; and asked with severity, whether he came as a spy ? " Yes," said Diogenes, " I am come to spy upon your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

129. And now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty, and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun, both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans commanded by Theogenes, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption, obtained the post of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the Sacred Band, formed of generous and warlike youths connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians ; and the Athenians composed the left wing, led by their generals Lysicles and Chares.

130. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valour ; and for this purpose surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whose courage he had the least dependence ; while the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood, to oppose the impetuosity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

131. The charge began on each side with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty, could excite in the several combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, first fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the Sacred Band of Thebes, which sustained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame.

132. The gallant youths who composed this body, not being timely or not duly supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy, till at length, oppressed and overpowered by superior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down on that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark by their bodies against the progress of the army. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthusiastic ardour of valour animated by success, pushed on through all the carnage, and over all the heaps of slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans, where they were

opposed with obstinate and deliberate courage, and the contest was for some time supported with mutual violence.

133. The Athenians, at the same time, on the right wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each side, and success was for some time doubtful, till at length part of the centre, and the left wing of the Macedonians, (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Athenian generals had been equal to the valour of their soldiers ! but those brave champions of liberty were led on by the despicable creatures of intrigue and cabal.

134. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lysicles cried out, " Come on my gallant countrymen ; the victory is ours ; let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon ;" and thus, instead of improving their happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward in pursuit of the flying enemy : themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a rout. Philip saw this fatal error, with the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation arising from the assurance of approaching victory.

135. He coolly observed to those officers that stood round him, " That the Athenians knew not how to conquer ;" and ordered his phalanx to change its position, and by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force, on the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger.

136. The shock was irresistible ; they were at once overwhelmed ; many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds ; while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter, by a shameful and precipitate flight ; bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support. And here the renowned orator and statesman, whose noble sentiments and spirited harangues had raised the courage on this day so eminently exerted, betrayed that weakness which has sullied his great character.

137. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and dismayed ; and at the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, cast away that shield which he had adorned with this inscription, in golden characters—*To Good Fortune* ; and appeared the foremost in

the general rout. The ridicule and malice of his enemies, related, or perhaps invented another shameful circumstance; that being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed with the presence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for quarter.

138. While Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing; and at length broke the Thebans in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of slaughter had been already made; more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thousand were made prisoners, and the loss of the Thebans was not inferior.

139. Philip therefore determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks should be spared, conscious of his own designs, and still expecting to appear in the field the head and leader of that body which he had now completely subdued.

140. Philip was transported with this victory beyond measure, and having drank to excess at an entertainment which he gave upon that occasion, went into the field of battle, where he insulted over the slain, and upbraided the prisoners with their misfortunes. He leaped and danced about in a frantic manner, and with an air of burlesque merriment sung the beginning of the decree, which Demosthenes had drawn up as a declaration of the war against him.

141. Demades, who was of the number of the prisoners, had the courage to reproach him with this ungenerous behaviour, telling him, "That fortune had given him the part of Agamemnon, but that he was acting that of Thersites." He was so struck with the justness of this reproof, that it wrought a thorough change in him; and he was so far from being offended at Demades, that he immediately gave him his liberty, and showed him afterwards great marks of honour and friendship.

142. He likewise relieved all the Athenian captives, without ransom; and when they found him so generously disposed towards them, they made a demand of their baggage, with every thing else that had been taken from them, but to that Philip replied, "Surely they think I have not beat them." This discharge of the prisoners was ascribed in a great measure to Demades, who is said to have new-modelled Philip, and to have softened his temper with the Attic graces, as Diodorus expresses it: indeed Philip himself acknowledged upon another occasion,

that his frequent converse with the Athenian orators, had been of great use to him in correcting his morals.

143. Justin represents his carriage after the battle in a very different light, alleging, that he took abundance of pains to dissemble his joy : that he affected great modesty and compassion, and was not seen to laugh ; and that he would have no sacrifice, no crowns nor perfumes ; that he forbid all kinds of sports ; and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be insolent. But this account seems to have been confounded with others which were given of him, after his being reformed by Demades. It is certain that after his first transport was over, and that he began to recollect himself, he showed great humanity to the Athenians ; and that in order still to keep measures with them, he renewed the peace.

144. But the Thebans, who had renounced their alliance with him, he treated in another manner. He, who affected to be as much master of his allies as of his subjects, could not easily pardon those who had deserted him in so critical a conjuncture. Wherefore, he not only took ransom for their prisoners, but made them pay for leave to bury their dead. After these severities, and after having placed a strong garrison over them, he granted them a peace.

145. We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of its being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a free man, he hastened his end by abstaining from food ; he was four-score and eighteen years of age.

146. This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the generals Lysicles and Chares ; the former of whom the Athenians put to death at the instance of Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a severe judge, and a most bitter accuser. " You, Lysicles," said he, " were general of the army ; a thousand citizens were slain, two thousand taken prisoners ; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved.

147. " You had the command when all these things happened ; and yet you dare to live, and view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publicly in the forum ; you, Lysicles, who are born the monument of your country's shame !" This Lycurgus was one of the orators of the first rank, and free from the general corruption which then reigned among them. He managed the pub-

lic treasures for twelve years with great uprightness, and had, all his life long, the reputation of a man of honour and virtue.

148. He increased the shipping, supplied the arsenal, drove the bad men out of the city, and framed several good laws. He kept an exact register of every thing he did during his administration; and when that was expired, he caused it to be fixed up to a pillar, that every body might be at liberty to inspect it, and to censure his conduct. He carried this point so far, that in his last sickness, he ordered himself to be carried to the senate-house to give a public account of all his actions, and after he had refuted one who accused him there, he went home and died.

149. Notwithstanding the austerity of his temper, he was a great encourager of the stage; which though it had been carried to an excess that was manifestly hurtful to the public, he still looked on it as the best school to instruct and polish the minds of the people. And to this end he kept up a spirit of emulation among the writers of tragedy, and erected the statues of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. He left three sons, who were unworthy of him, and behaved so ill, that they were all put in prison; but *Demosthenes*, out of regard to the memory of their father, got them discharged.

150. It does not appear that *Chares* underwent any prosecution for his share of this action; though, according to the general character, he deserved it as much or more than his colleague. For he had no talent for command, and was very little different from a common soldier. *Timotheus* said to him, "That instead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the general's baggage." His person indeed was of that robust kind of make; and it was that which served in some measure to recommend him to the people. But he was more a man of pleasure than fatigue.

151. In his military expeditions, he was wont to carry with him a band of music; and he defrayed the expense of it out of the soldiers' pay. Notwithstanding his want of abilities, he had a thorough good opinion of himself. He was vain and positive, bold and boisterous, a great undertaker, and always ready to warrant success; but his performances seldom answered; and hence it was, that the promises of *Chares* became a proverb. And yet as little as he was to be depended on, he had his partisans among the people, and among the orators, by whose means he got himself to be frequently employed, and others to be excluded who were more capable.

152. But it was *Demosthenes* who seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. However, at the very instant the Athenians heard

of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes.

153. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

154. On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strong did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

155. But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men: a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure.

156. It was in this year that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes, which was the most remarkable that ever appeared before any tribunal; not so much for the object of the contest, as for the greatness and ability of the speakers. Ctesiphon, a partisan and friend of Demosthenes, brought a cause before the assembly of the people, in which he urged that a decree should be passed, giving a gold crown to Demosthenes. This decree was strongly opposed by Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, as well in eloquence as ambition.

157. No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts, and they had great reason for so doing: for what sight could be nobler than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way, both formed by nature, improved by art, and ani-

mated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other.

158. The juncture seemed to favour *Æschines* very much, for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless *Æschines* lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages.

159. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of *Æschines*; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was then he spoke these words so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival:—"Alas! what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself."

160. Demosthenes thus become victor, made a good use of his conquest. For the instant *Æschines* left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money. On this occasion *Æschines* cried out, "How will it be possible for me not to regret a country in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any part of the world."

161. In the mean time Philip had his ambition pleased, but not satisfied with his last victory; he had but one object long in view, and that he never lost sight of; this was to get himself appointed in the assembly of the Greeks, their chief general against the Persians. It had long been the object, not only of the confederate states, but also of the neighbouring Greek nations, to revenge upon the kingdom of Persia, the injuries they had sustained from it; and to work the total destruction of that empire. This was an object which had early inflamed the mind of Philip, and his late victory paved the way to it. He therefore got himself declared generalissimo of the Greek forces, and accordingly made preparations to invade that mighty empire.

162. But whilst Philip was thus successful in politics and war, the domestic divisions that reigned in his family, embittered his happiness, and at last caused his destruction. He had married *Olympias*, the daughter of the king of Epirus, and the early part of their union was crowned with happiness: but her ill temper soon clouded that dawn which promised so much felicity; she was naturally jealous, vindictive and passionate, and their dissensions were carried to such a degree that Philip was often heard to wish for death.

163. But his passion for *Cleopatra*, niece to *Attalus*, his gen-

eral, completed their separation. As Cleopatra was no less amiable in her temper and accomplishments than in the extraordinary graces of her person, Philip conceived that he should consult his own happiness most effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the least hesitation, resolved to separate himself for ever from the princess who had long appeared so great an enemy to his tranquillity.

164. In vain did Alexander his son remonstrate, that by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a second marriage, he exposed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. "My son," said the king, "if I create you a number of competitors, you will have the glorious opportunity of exerting yourself to surpass them in merit. Thus shall their rivalry by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and solemnity which the great occasion demanded.

165. The young prince, however dissatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on these solemnities, and sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed the disgrace of his mother. In such circumstances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be susceptible of the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that just caution which should have taught him to be scrupulously observant to avoid offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinswoman, as well as by the present festivity, was rash enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the present nuptials, and legitimate heirs to his throne.

166. Wretch! cried Alexander, with his eyes sparkling with that fury and vexation which he had till now suppressed, dost thou then call me bastard? and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion arose, and the king, in a sudden fit of rage, snatched his sword, and flew directly towards his son. His precipitation, his lameness, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, happily disappointed his rash purpose; he stumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander, with an unpardonable insolence, cried out, "Behold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who is preparing to lead you into Asia; see, where in passing from one table to another, he is fallen to the ground."

167. Philip, however, did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consulted the gods to know what would be the event of it; and the priestess

replied, *The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed.* Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour; the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and elevate himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he despatched with all possible diligence his domestic affairs.

168. After this he offered up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepared to celebrate with incredible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece, and heaped upon them friendship and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks.

169. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus, the poet, had written purposely for that festival, a tragedy entitled *Cinyras*, in which, under borrowed names, he represented his prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnised.

170. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods carved with inimitable art; a thirteenth that surpassed them all in magnificence, represented Philip as a god. The hour of his leaving the palace arrived; he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience.

171. But this magnificence only served to make the catastrophe more remarkable, and to add splendour to ruin. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted in the most shocking manner Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias' complaints.

172. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life guard. But this

was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he formed the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his sovereign.

173. And now while this unhappy youth continued brooding over those malignant passions which distracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the school of one Hermocrates, who professed to teach philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do who wishes to transmit his name with lustre to posterity?" Hermocrates, either artfully and from design, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He must kill him who had achieved the greatest actions; thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who slew him, and both descend together to posterity."

174. This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pausanias, in the present disposition of his mind; and thus various accidents and circumstances, concurred to inflame those dangerous passions which now possessed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge. The present solemnity was that which Pausanias chose to put his dreadful design into execution. Philip, clothed in a white flowing robe, waving in soft and graceful folds, the habiliments in which the Grecian deities were usually represented, moved forward with a heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds shouted forth their flattering applause.

175. His guards had orders to keep at a considerable distance from his person, to show that the king confided in the affections of the people, and had not the least apprehensions of danger amidst all this mixed concourse of different states and nations. Unhappily the danger was but too near him. The injured Pausanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but still retained those terrible impressions which the sense of the indignity he had received, and the artful and interested representations of others, fixed deeply in his mind. He chose this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge on the prince who had denied reparation to his injured honour.

176. His design had been for some time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on, in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian slipped through the crowd, and with a desperate and malignant resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him, Pausanias drew his poignard, plunged it into his heart, and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground, and instantly expired.

177. The murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there stood horses ready to favour his escape, which Olympias

himself is said to have prepared. The tumult and confusion was such as might be expected from so fatal an event : some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with officious and ineffectual care, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus ; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin, where he was just preparing to mount his horse ; but being, by his precipitation, entangled in some vines, a violent effort to extricate the foot brought him suddenly to the ground.

178. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas was upon him, and with his companions, soon despatched him by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet ; but in the morning appeared crowned with a golden diadem ; the only means by which Olympias could now express her implacable resentment. In a few days, indeed, she took a further occasion of publishing her triumph and exultation in her husband's fall, by paying the same funeral honours to Pausanias, which were prepared for Philip ; both bodies were burnt on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb.

179. She is even said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanias ; as if she feared that the share she had taken in the death of Philip, should not be sufficiently known to the world. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, inscribed with the name Myrtalis ; the name she had borne when their loves first began.

180. Thus died Philip, whose virtues and vices were directed and proportioned to his ambition. His most shining and exalted qualities were influenced in a great measure by his love of power, and even the most exceptionable parts of his conduct were principally determined by their conveniency and expediency. If he was unjust, he was like Cæsar, unjust for the sake of empire. If he gloried of the success acquired by his virtues and his intellectual accomplishments, rather than in that which the force of arms could gain, the reason which he himself assigned, points out his true principle—"In the former case," said he, "the glory is entirely mine ; in the other, my generals and soldiers have their share."

181. The news of Philip's death was a joyful surprise in Greece, and particularly in Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if Philip had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy did ill become them. It was looked upon as an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered

prince, and of one whom they just before had revered and crouched to in the most abject manner.

182. These immoderate transports were raised in them by Demosthenes, who having the first intelligence of Philip's death, went into the assembly unusually gay and cheerful, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich habit, though it was then but the seventh day after the death of his daughter. From this circumstance, Plutarch, at the same time that he condemns the behaviour of the Athenians in general upon this occasion, takes an opportunity to justify Demosthenes, and extols him as a patriot for not suffering his domestic afflictions to interfere with the good fortune of the commonwealth. But he certainly might have acted the part of a good citizen with more decency, and not have given up to insult, what was due to good manners.

CHAPTER XIV.

From the Birth of Alexander, to his setting out for Asia.

1. ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, ascended the throne upon the death of his father, A. M. 3648. and took possession of a kingdom rendered ante J. C. 356. flourishing and powerful by the policy of the preceding reign.

2. He came into the world the very day the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; upon which occasion the report goes, that Hegasius the historian was heard to say, "That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, as Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympia, to facilitate the birth of Alexander."

3. The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory, not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence, and the beauty of his style, and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot race.

4. But it was not after such empty honours that his son aspired. His friends asked him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above mentioned in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion? for he was very swift of foot. He answered that he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.

5. Every time news was brought him that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him,

"Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for me to do."

6. One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all ; but that which most surprised them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered, in the several conversations they had with him.

7. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age ; such for instance as inquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air ; the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world ; the famous golden plantain-tree ; and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience.

8. Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature ; inquiring which was the road to Upper Asia ; the distance of the several places ; in which the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted ; in what part of the battle he fought ; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while ; and perceiving, even at that time, how great he might one day become, they observed in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, " This young prince is great, and ours is rich : that man must be vastly insignificant who has no other merit than his riches.

9. So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing entirely to the good education which had been given him. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are generally bestowed on the heir to a great kingdom ; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation to the queen. This Leonidas, in their journies together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his bed and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias, his mother, had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

10. But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous reputation and merit, was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

11. Philip was sensible how great a treasure he possessed in

the person of Aristotle ; for which reason he settled a very genteel stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner ; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of Satygra, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it purely out of affection for him ; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves ; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Satygra, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing ; as also spacious vistas, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun beams.

12. Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father ; declaring that he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew vastly fond of philosophy, and learned the several parts of it, but in a manner suitable to his birth.

13. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so ; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and constitute its whole value. Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of their duties. This he made his serious and profound study ; and considered it even at that time as the foundation of prudence and wise policy.

14. The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education ; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled Alexander's Rhetoric ; in the beginning of which Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence ; as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority.

15. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, show that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas ; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning, which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings. His esteem, or rather his passion for Homer, shows not only with what vigour and success he applied

to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it.

16. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poetry ; but his view in studying this admirable writer, was to borrow such sentiments from him as were worthy a great king and conqueror ; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence, the art of commanding well in war and peace. The verse which pleased him most in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is represented as a good king and a brave warrior.

17. After this it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians found, among the spoils of Darius, a gold box, enriched with precious stones, in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put ; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems ; which he believed the most perfect, the most precise production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called the best provision for a warrior.

18. He always had with him that edition of Homer, which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of "The Edition of the Box" was given ; and he laid it with his sword every night under his pillow. Fond, even to excess of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle his master, for having published in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired to possess only ; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account.

19. Alexander says in it, "That he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than in the greatness and extent of his powers." He in like manner requested Aristotle not to show the treatise of rhetoric above mentioned to any person but himself. He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in such a manner as became a prince ; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture flourished in his reign ; because they found him both a skilful judge and generous protector ; who was able to distinguish and to reward merit.

20. But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small peas through the eye of a needle, which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him at

this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment : viz. a basket of peas.

21. Alexander was of a sprightly disposition, was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind : Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

22. An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse ; a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast called Bucephalus. The owner would not sell him under thirteen talents ; an immense sum. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse ; but, upon trial, he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him.

23. Philip being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, " What a noble horse we are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him ! " Philip at first considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men ; but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do.

24. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun, having observed, that the thing which frightened him was his own shadow ; Alexander therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice, then seeing his fierceness abate, and artfully taking this opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the rein, without once striking or vexing him ; and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed.

25. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court, trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips ; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general, endeavoured to outvie

one another in their applauses and congratulations ; and we are told Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion ; and embracing Alexander, after he was alighted, and kissing him, he said to him, " My son seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit.

26. Alexander, upon his accession to the throne, saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers ; the barbarous nations with whom Philip contended during his whole reign, thought this change for their advantage, and despising the youth and inexperience of the young monarch, resolved to seize this opportunity of regaining their freedom, for satiating themselves with plunder ; nor had he less to fear from the Greeks themselves, who now thought this a convenient opportunity to restore their ancient form of government, revenge their former injuries, and reclaim those rights which they had enjoyed for ages.

27. Alexander, however, resolved to prevent their machinations, and to give them no time to complete their confederacies against him. After taking revenge upon the conspirators against his father, whom he slew upon his tomb, he first conciliated the affections of the Macedonians to him by freeing them from a vexatious and bodily slavery, only commanding their service in his wars.

28. The Macedonians reflecting on his precarious situation, advised him to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force ; to recover by gentle methods the barbarians who had taken arms ; and to soothe, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation, by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate their affections. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity ; firmly persuaded that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him ; and that, were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon.

29. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi, in a great battle ; made the Getæ fly at his approach ; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms : and notwithstanding the arrogant answers of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger which they found but too well prepared to overwhelm them.

30. Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more

particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against him. A false report which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child and a hair-brained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom, but would think himself vastly happy could he sit peaceably on his throne. —

31. At the same time he wrote letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes' proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes' letters to that prince: but Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus' death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

32. The object which seized Alexander's earliest ambition, was the conquest of Persia; and he now expected that he would have leisure and opportunity to prepare for so great an enterprise; but he was soon called to a new undertaking: the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians united against him, hoping, by the assistance of Persia, to recover their former freedom. In order to persuade the Greeks to this, Demosthenes made use of a device, which had more cunning in it than wisdom.

33. He caused it to be reported that Alexander was slain in a battle against the Triballi; and he produced a man to the assembly who ventured to affirm, that he was present and wounded, when his general was slain. These false reports, which serve for a day, are but bad policy; like a false alarm in battle, the people may sometimes be mocked by them, but in the end the success will prove as ridiculous as the invention; for as those that find themselves at one time abused by such, at other times neglect the real call of truth; by being summoned without occasion, they fatally despise the hour of danger.

34. This unfortunate obstacle obliged Alexander to turn his sword from the Persians against the Greeks, of whose assistance he had just before assured himself. Expedition and activity were the characteristics of this monarch's conduct; he led his

army against the Greeks with so much celerity, that his appearance before them gave the first news of his preparation.

35. He appeared so suddenly in Boeotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent; and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

36. Alexander finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers. But after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear; being surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

37. It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards inquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver.

38. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying, that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most precious things in her possession. The officer overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him in, and afterwards killed him with great stones, which she heaped upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander.

39. The prince perceived immediately by her mien, that she was a woman of quality, and great spirit; for she followed those brutal wretches, with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea, replied, "I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed at the battle of Chaeronea, where he commanded." The prince admiring her generous an-

swer, and still more the actions she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

40. Alexander then debated in council how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocians, and the people of Plataea, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who had also destroyed their several cities, and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation: the proof of which was the oath they had all taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

41. Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse in some measure the fault of the Thebans; a fault which in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors.

42. That what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city; that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

43. These motives which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt.

44. But all the rest, in number above thirty thousand, he sold; and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly affected at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnise the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them upon account of their extreme grief; and received, with the greatest humanity, all those who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

45. Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished

Demosthenes' vehemence and fire: but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to intreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency; Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy and returned home.

46. Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed that the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard.

47. The application was easy and natural; especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty it was to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock. In this afflicting dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them.

48. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had before just committed; or rather to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment; who being a native of Oræa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republic.

49. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia. As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs; and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece.

50. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought

upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations. So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned at Corinth, the assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians which had been granted his father a little before his death.

51. No assembly ever debated upon a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east; and the method for executing a revenge which had been suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time, gave rise to events, the relation of which appear astonishing, and almost incredible; and to revolutions which contributed to change the disposition of most things in the political world.

52. To form such a design, required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by danger, nor checked by obstacles; but, above all, a monarch, who had the supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly, was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end.

53. Such a prince was Alexander: it was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended but could never extinguish.

54. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians, showed plainly what might be expected from an army composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedon, commanded by generals formed under Philip; and to say all in a word, led on by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short; and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

55. Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean opinion of grandeur, thought it im-

proper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation, but that mankind ought to wait till those persons should perform actions worthy of their high stations.

56. Diogenes, therefore, still continued at home, upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun, but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprised to behold so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked, "whether he wanted any thing?" Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sunshine."

57. This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul—"Were I not Alexander," says he, "I would be Diogenes." In a word, all or nothing, presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny himself, on this occasion, inferior to a man to whom he could give and from whom he could take nothing.

58. Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos, where he happened to arrive in those days which are called unlucky; a season in which people are forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm, and as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

59. Alexander, being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the nobles of his court on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly were unanimous, except in one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king before he engaged in an enterprise which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort in order to secure himself a successor to his throne.

60. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice, and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnising his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

61. Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, scenical games that had been instituted by one of his ancestors, in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeably to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers were invited.

62. Before he set out upon his great expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse. He also inquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. As all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replied, "Hope;" upon which Perdiccas said, "the same hope ought therefore to satisfy us;" and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

63. After having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, he set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men, well disciplined, and inured to fatigues. They had made several campaigns under Philip, and were each of them, in case of necessity, capable of commanding;—most of the officers were near threescore years of age, and the common men fifty; and when they were either assembled or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate.

64. Parmenio commanded the infantry; Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounting to six hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his march along the lake Cercinum, towards Amphipolis, crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth, afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days march.

65. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse, and part of the foot, which he accordingly did, with the assistance of a hundred and three-score galleys, and several flat-bottomed vessels; while he himself

crossed over the Hellespont, steering his galley with his own hands : and when he arrived near the shore, as if to take possession of the continent, he leaped from his ship in complete armour, and testified many transports of joy.

66. This confidence soon began to diffuse itself over all the rest of the army ; it inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied themselves marching not to a precarious war, but a certain victory. Being arrived at the city of Lampsacus, which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father ; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil.

67. The king suspecting the business he came upon, to be before hand with him, swore in express terms, that he would never grant his request. " The favour I have to desire of you," says Anaximenes, " is, that you would destroy Lampsacus." By this witty evasion, the historian saved his country. From thence Alexander went to Troy, where he paid great honours to the shade of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the felicity of the Grecian hero, in having found during life a faithful friend in Patroclus, and after death a noble panegyrist in Homer.

68. When the news of Alexander's landing in Asia was brought to Darius, he testified the utmost contempt for the Macedonian army, and indignation at the presumption of their generals. In a letter which he wrote, he reprehended his audacious insolence, and gave orders to his various governors, in the different parts of his dominions, that if they took Alexander alive, to whip him with rods, make prisoners of the whole army, and send them as slaves to one of the most deserted parts of his dominions.

69. Thus confiding in the glittering but barbarous multitude which he commanded, he disposed of the enemy as already vanquished : but confidence goes but a short part of the road to success. The great numbers which he had gathered, only brought unwieldy splendour into the field, and instead of procuring him security, increased his embarrassments.

70. Alexander being at length arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia, there first found the Persians disposed to dispute his passage. The Persian Satraps taking possession of the higher banks at the head of an army of one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse, seemed to promise themselves victory. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but lay waste the plains and even

the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius' generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories.

71. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous, had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, and inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately.

72. But Arsites, a Phrygian Satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havoc in the territories he governed. This ill council prevailed over that of the Rhodian, whom the Persians to their great prejudice suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means of making himself necessary to Darius.

73. Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings, and the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him.

74. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy, so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array, on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up; that besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the same and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

75. However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet; for so he called the Granicus out of contempt; that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the suddenness of his arrival and the boldness of the attempt had spread among the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians.

76. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot,

which consisted chiefly of Greeks in Darius' service, was posted behind upon an easy ascent. The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies.

77. Upon this, Alexander ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing: he himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

78. The Persians seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury, one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place, and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there.

79. The Macedonians at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence; Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, headed them himself, animated them by his presence, pushed the Persians and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy on all sides. Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought.

80. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person, and though only the horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery.

81. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his

side, he carried terror wherever he went. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalised himself, clapped spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobatès falls furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet.

82. At that very moment, Rasaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut off Rasaces' hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now performed wonders.

83. The Persians in the centre of the horse, upon whom the light armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

84. These at first stood their ground, but when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight; the Grecian infantry in Darius' service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thrust of a sword.

85. The battle was so hot around him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners. A great number of the Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands on himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought.

86. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians.

ans : and of the Macedonians twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all of which were set up in a city of Macedonia, called Dia, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome, by Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave ; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children, from every kind of tribute and service.

87. He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He inquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. He also granted the rights of sepulchre to the principal Persians, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service ; but all those whom he took prisoners, he laid in chains, and sent to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standard against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

88. Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of the victory with the Greeks ; and sent particularly to the Athenians, three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils : "*Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained these spoils from the barbarians who inhabit Asia.*" The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

89. This victory not only impressed the Persians with consternation, but served to excite the ardour of the invading army. The Persians perceiving that they were not able to overcome the Greeks, though possessed of manifest advantages, supposed that they never could be able to face them upon equal terms ; and thus, from the first mischance, they gave up all hopes of succeeding by valour. Indeed, in all invasions, where the nations invaded have been once beaten, with great advantages of place on their side, such as defensive rivers, straits, and mountains, they soon begin to persuade themselves that upon equal terms such an enemy must be irresistible.

90. It is the opinion of Machiavel, that he who resolves to defend a passage, should do it with his ablest forces ; for few regions of any circuit are so well defended by nature, that armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, cannot break through the natural difficulties of the entrance ; one passage or other is commonly left unguarded ; and some place weakly de-

fended, will be the cause of a fatal triumph to the invaders. How often have the Alps given way to armies breaking into Italy? and though they produced dreadful difficulties and dangers among those that scaled them, yet they were never found to give security to those that lay behind.

91. It was therefore wisely done of Alexander to pass the river in the face of the enemy, without marching higher to seek an easier passage, or labouring to convey his men over it by some safer method. Having beaten the enemy upon their own terms, he no less destroyed their reputation than their strength, leaving the wretched subjects of such a state, no hopes of succour from such unable protectors.

92. Soon after the battle of Granicus, he recovered Sardis from the enemy; which was in a manner the bulwark of the barbarian empire on that side next the sea; he took the inhabitants under his protection, received their nobles with the utmost condescension, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and maxims, observing to his friends around him, "That such as lay the foundations of a new dominion, should always endeavour to have the fame of being merciful."

93. Four days after, he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana, the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Thrallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

94. He afterwards marched to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him; and indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a show as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence.

95. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling ladders on all sides. The scalade was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve each other without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long seige, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalade was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated to prevent being taken by storm; Alexander treated

the Milesians with the utmost humanity, but sold all the foreigners who were found in it.

96. After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficult access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius' commanders, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with a design to signalise his courage and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion.

97. Memnon finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it after having encompassed it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

98. Soon after this he restored Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, of which she had been dispossessed some time before; and as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, she sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him; for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas, his governor had given him, one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and an excellent supper, and those were Temperance and Exercise."

99. Several kings of Asia minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander; Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of those who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabanus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes, his father. The famous Mithridates who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

100. The year ensuing, Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or first subdue the rest of the

maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phasalis, a city situated between Lysia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water which came up to their waist.

101. Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cicilia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates in case they were not succoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

102. From thence he marched into Phrygia, the ancient dominion of the celebrated king Midas; having taken the capital city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much intricacy, that it was impossible to discover where the ends begun, or how they were concealed. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia.

103. Alexander being firmly persuaded that the oracle was meant for him, after many fruitless trials, instead of attempting to untie it in the usual manner, drew his sword and cut it in pieces, crying out, "That that was the only way to untie it." The priest hailed the omen, and declared that Alexander had fulfilled the oracle.

104. Darius, who now began to be more alarmed than before, used all the art in his power to raise an army, and encourage his forces; he sent Memnon into Greece, to invade Macedon, in order to make a diversion of the Grecian forces; but that general dying upon this expedition, Darius' hopes vanished on that quarter, and instead of invading the enemy, he was obliged to consult for the protection of his empire at home.

105. In the mean time, Alexander having left Gordium, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken, of marching im-

mediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced, by hasty marches, into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called Cyrus' Camp. From thence, there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia, to Tarsus.

106. The officer who guarded it in Darius' name, had left but few soldiers in it; and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this Alexander entered the pass, and after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, admired his own good fortune, and confessed he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones; for not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed, could scarcely walk abreast in it, the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait, but broke in several places by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

107. Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city which he saved, the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

108. Through this city the Cydnus runs; a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid, but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia; and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the by-standers fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The physicians, who were sensible that they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies.

109. However, Philip, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, and loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign but his child, raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it: at this proposal every one trembled, but he only whom it most concerned: Alexander

being afflicted on no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

110. Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip his physician; for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness; for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or fear. But the confidence in a physician whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all suspicions.

111. He folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting his attendants with the contents; in the mean time, his physician entered, with the medicine in his hand, and offered the cup to Alexander. The hero, upon this, took the cup from him, and holding out the letter, desired the physician to read, while he drank off the draught with an intrepid countenance, without the least hesitation, or discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness.

112. The physician as he perused the letter, showed greater signs of indignation than of fear; he bid him, with a resolute tone, harbour no uneasiness, and that the recovery of his health would in a short time wipe off all suspicion. In the mean time, the physician wrought so violently, that the symptoms seemed to strengthen Parmenio's accusation; but at last, the medicine having gained the ascendant, he began to assume his accustomed vigour; and in about three days, he was able to show himself to his longing soldiers, by whom he was equally beloved and respected.

113. In the mean time, Darius was on his march: filled with a vain security in a superiority of his numbers; and confident not in the valour, but in the splendour of his forces. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him. But, instead of this, he resolved to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry, and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only incumber each other; and accordingly advanced towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited; and thus ran visibly on his destruction.

114. His courtiers and attendants, however, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud all his actions, congratulated him upon an approaching victory, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished

from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his army. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclinations of the prince, is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows :

115. " Permit me, sir, to speak truth now, when only my sincerity may be of service ; your present splendour, your prodigious numbers which have drained the east, may be terrible indeed to your effeminate neighbours, but can be no way dreadful to a Macedonian army. Discipline, close combat, courage, is all their care ; every single man among them is almost himself a general. These men are not to be repulsed by the stones of slingers, or stakes burnt at the end ; none but troops armed like themselves can stop their career ; let therefore the gold and silver which glitters in your camp be exchanged for soldiers and steel, for weapons and for hearts that are able to defend you."

116. Darius, though naturally of a mild disposition, had all his passions roused at the freedom of this man's advice ; he ordered him at once to be executed ; Caridemus all the time crying out, that his avenger was at hand : Darius too soon repented his rashness, and experienced, when it was too late, the truth of all that had been told him. The emperor now advanced with his troops towards the river Euphrates ; over his tent was exhibited to the view of his whole army, the image of the sun in jewels ; while wealth and magnificence shone in every quarter of the army.

117. First they carried silver altars, on which lay fire, called by them *Sacred* and *Eternal* : and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns, after the manner of their country : they were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (equaling the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the *Sun's Horse* ; and the equeries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

118. Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called *The Immortals* ; amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with vestments having sleeves to them quite covered with precious stones.

119. Thirty paces from them followed those called the king's

relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women; and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress, than the glitter of their arms. Those called *The Doryphori* came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit, as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods, in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height, the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

120. But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king: he was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe, glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons, rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scimitar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems; on his head he wore a tiara, or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

121. On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by two thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and lastly thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses, four hundred in number, all which were led. About one hundred, or a hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Sysigambis, Darius' mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another; with the several female attendants of both queens, riding on horseback.

122. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem among those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers. After these came the wives of the crown officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

123. In the rear were a body of light armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march. Such was the splendour of this pageant monarch: he took to the field incumbered with an unnecessary train of concubines, attended with troops of various nations, speaking different languages, for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and so rich and effeminate in gold and in garments, as seemed rather to invite than deter an invader.

124. Alexander, after marching from Tarsus, arrived at Bac-

triana; from thence still earnest in coming up with his enemy, he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifice to *Esculapius*; from thence he went forward to *Pyramus*, to *Malles*, and at last to *Castabala*; it was here that he first received advice, that *Darius*, with his whole army, was encamped at *Sochus* in *Assyria*, two day's journey from *Cilicia*. He therefore resolved, without delay, to meet him there, as the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

125. In the mean time *Darius* led on his immense army into the plains of *Assyria*, which they covered to a great extent; there he was advised by the Grecian commanders who were in his service, and who composed the strength of his army, to halt, as he would there have sufficient room to expand his forces, and surround the invader. *Darius* rejected their advice, and instead of waiting *Alexander's* approach, vainly puffed up with pride by his surrounding courtiers, he resolved to pursue the invader, who wished for nothing more ardently, than to come to an engagement.

126. Accordingly, *Darius* having sent his treasures to *Damascus*, a city of *Assyria*, he marched with the main body of his army towards *Cilicia*, then turned short towards *Issus*; and quite ignorant of the situation of the enemy, supposed he was pursuing *Alexander*, when he had actually left him in the rear. There is a strange mixture of pride, cruelty, splendour, and magnanimity, in all the actions of this Persian prince. At *Issus* he barbarously put to death all the Greeks who were sick in that city, a few soldiers only excepted, whom he dismissed, after having made them view every part of his camp, in order to report his numbers and strength to the invader; these soldiers accordingly brought *Alexander* word of the approach of *Darius*, and he now began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

127. *Alexander* fearing, from the numbers of the enemy, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with a ditch and a rampart; but at the same time discovered great joy to see the enemy hastening to its own destruction, and preparing to attack him in a place which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in. Thus the two armies were in some measure reduced to an equality: the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole force, while the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

128. Nevertheless, *Alexander*, as it frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns: the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncer-

tain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one: well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

129. Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain, and there by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make great speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them.

130. But now the spies bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants, in the greatest terror, came also, and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy; which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion; who, in their surprise, ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

131. The spot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain that was situated between them both must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it, and I have before observed, that Darius' army was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow kind of gulf, the extremity of which, in a curved line, bounded part of the plain.

132. Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the Argyraspides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Coenus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing, he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct bodies. Each of those was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always geraldissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army.

133. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians with the Thessalians on the right, and the Peloponnesians with the other allies on the left. Craterus commanded all the

foot, which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse on his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pœonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the Agrians, commanded by Attalus, who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

134. As for Darius' army, it was drawn up in the following order: having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded thirty thousand horse, and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who doubtless were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand barbarians on their right, and as many on their left.

135. The field of battle not being able to contain a greater number, these were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is a pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

136. Darius, after having set his army in battle array, made his horse cross the river again, and despatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot to the greatest advantage. The rest of his cavalry he sent to the left towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

137. The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late. For Darius still continued with his army on the other

side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisades; where the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander riding along the ranks, called by their several names, the principal officers, both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalise themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. The whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

138. Alexander had advanced at first very slowly to prevent the ranks on the front of his phalanx from breaking, and halted by intervals. But when he was got within bow shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that he might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued, for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent.

139. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing with his own hands Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before, so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxatres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above the rest.

140. The horses that drew Darius' chariot lost all command, and shook the yoke so violently that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences. Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry, posted on the right, were driving the advantages they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks, met with greater resistance.

141. These observing that the body of infantry in question

were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalled themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible.

142. There was also a perpetual jealousy between the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, lost his life with a hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry. In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously; and attacking them in flank entirely routed them.

143. At the very beginning of the engagement the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons they broke. Upon this the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy.

144. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence; and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing, without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this the Thessalians, seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx, when they fled in the utmost disorder.

145. With regard to Darius, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

146. Sysigambis, Darius' mother, and that monarch's queen, who was also his sister, were found remaining in the camp, with two of the king's daughters, his son (yet a child) and some Per-

sian ladies ; for the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius' treasures, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp ; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at the taking of the city of Damascus.

147. As for the barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner ; and being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia ; others ran into woods and lonely mountains ; and a small number returned to their camp which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered. In this battle threescore thousand of the Persian infantry, and ten thousand horsemen were slain, forty thousand were taken prisoners ; while of Alexander's army, there fell but two hundred and fourscore men in all.

148. The evening after the engagement, Alexander invited his chief officers to a feast, at which he himself presided notwithstanding he had been wounded that day in battle. The festivity, however, had scarce begun, when they were interrupted by sad lamentations from a neighbouring tent, which at first they considered as a fresh alarm, but they were soon taught that it came from the tent, in which the wife and mother of Darius, were kept, who were expressing their sorrow for the supposed death of Darius. An eunuch, who had seen his cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he was killed, brought them these dreadful tidings.

149. Alexander, however, sent one of his officers to undeceive them, and to inform them that the emperor was still alive. The women, little used to the appearance of strangers, upon the arrival of the Macedonian soldier, imagining he was sent to put them to death, threw themselves at his feet, and intreated him to spare them a little while. They were ready, they said, to die ; and only desired to bury Darius, before they should suffer. The soldier assured them, that the monarch whom they deplored, was still living, and he gave Sysigambis his hand to raise her from the ground.

150. The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead in presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius' mother to bury whatever person she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. After this he sent a message to the queens to inform them, that he was going to pay them a visit ; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent accompanied only by

Hephæstion, who made so cautious and discreet a use of the liberty granted him, that he seemed to take it not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king who would have it so.

151. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him first for the king, and paid him their respects as such. But some captive eunuchs showing them Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and intreated pardon for her mistake, but the king raising her from the ground, assured her this his friend also was another Alexander; and after comforting her and her attendants, took the son of Darius that was yet but a child in his arms.

152. The infant, without discovering the least terror, stretched out his arms to the conqueror, who being affected with its confidence, said to Hephæstion, "O that Darius had some share, some portion of this infant's generosity." This interview has done more honour to Alexander's character, than all the rest of his conquests; the gentleness of his manners to the suppliant captives, his chastity and continence, when he had the power to enforce obedience, were setting an example to heroes which it has been the pride of many since to imitate.

153. After this overthrow, all Phœnicia, the capital city of Tyre only excepted, was yielded to the conqueror, and Parmenio was made governor. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it rewarded him beyond his expectations. Antiogenes his general in Asia, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted. Aristodemus the Persian admiral, was overcome at sea, and a great part of his fleet taken. The city of Damascus also, in which the treasures of Darius were deposited, was given up to Alexander. The governor of this place, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, informed Alexander by letter, upon a certain day, that he would lead out his soldiers laden with spoil from the city, as if willing to secure a retreat; and these with all their wealth might be taken with a proper body of troops to intercept them.

154. Alexander punctually followed the governor's instruction, and thus became possessed of an immense plunder. Besides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage were taken. We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus, three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius' concubines all admirably well skilled in music, and also a multitude of officers, whose business it was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to that monarch's entertainments.

155. In the mean time, Darius having travelled on horseback the whole night, struck with terror and consternation, arrived in the morning at Sochus, where he assembled the remains of his

army ; still however, his pride would not forsake him with his fortune ; he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which he rather treated him as an inferior ; he commanded, rather than requested, that Alexander would take a ransom for his mother, wife and children. With regard to the empire he would fight with him for it upon equal terms ; and bring an equal number of troops into the field.

156. To this Alexander replied, That he disdained all correspondence with a man whom he had already overcome ; that in case he appeared before him in a supplicating posture, he would give up his wife and mother without ransom ; that he knew how to conquer and oblige the conquered. This coming to no issue, the king marched from thence into Phœnicia, the city of Byblos opening its gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword.

157. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens, as upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred to the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of throwing off their yoke ; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

158. This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city ; to these he offered the crown. But they refused it, telling him that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strove to obtain by fire and sword ; "Continue," says he to them, "in this way of thinking, you who before were sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem, than to accept it. However, name me some person of the royal family, who may remember when he is king, that it was you set the crown on his head."

159. The brothers observing, that several, through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it, paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line ; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His

honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

160. Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding in his garden. When they saluted him king, Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream; and unable to guess the meaning of it, asked them if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner? But as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

161. The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who despising Abdolonymus' former abject state, could not forbear showing their resentment upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively a long time, he spoke thus: "Thy air and mein do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?"

162. "Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired: and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdolonymus' virtue; so that he presented him, not only with the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

163. Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the winds and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers; invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

164. Alexander thought it necessary, both for his pride and his interest, to take this city. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall, a hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the

sea washed; and the Carthagenians, (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians.

165. It was this made them so haughty; firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workhouses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city, so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp irons, and such like instruments formed for the defence of cities. So many difficulties opposing such a hazardous design, and so many reasons should have made Alexander decline the siege.

166. It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a bank, which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties, that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant, sweep away all works.

167. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous. These obstacles, however, by no means retarded the enterprising resolutions of Alexander, but willing to gain a place, rather by treaty than by the sword, he sent heralds into the city, proposing a peace between the Tyrians and him.

168. The citizens, however, a tumultuous ungovernable body, instead of listening to his proposals, instead of endeavouring to avert his resentment, contrary to the law of nations, killed his heralds, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. This outrage inflamed Alexander's passions to the highest degree, he resolved upon the city's destruction, and sat down before it with persevering resentment. His first endeavour was to form a pier jutting from the continent, and reaching to the city, which was built upon an island. From the foundations of an ancient city upon the shore, he dug stones and rubbish; from mount Libanus, that hung over the city, he cut down cedars that served for piles: and thus he began his work without interruption.

169. But the farther they went from shore, the greater difficulties they met with, because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy also, who were masters at sea, coming in great boats, prevented the Macedonians from carrying on their work with vigour.

170. At last, however, the pile appeared above water, a level of considerable breadth : then the besieged at last perceived their rashness ; they saw with terror the vastness of the work which the sea had till then kept from their sight, and now began to attack the workmen with javelins, and wound them at a distance. It was therefore resolved that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen, and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank to prevent the approaches of the enemy. Yet these were burnt soon after by the besieged, together with all the wood-work composing the pile that could be touched by the fire.

171. Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank ; and made and planted new machines, with such prodigious speed as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and abilities advanced these still more than the multitude of hands employed in them.

172. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the mole, that the cement and other things that barred it, gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once as into an abyss.

173. Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise ; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege ; and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breast of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

174. In the mean time, Alexander being convinced that while the enemy remained masters at sea, the city could not be taken, with great diligence procured a fleet from various parts, and em-

barking himself, with some soldiers from among his guard, he set sail towards the Tyrian fleet, forming a line of battle. The Tyrians were at first determined to oppose him openly ; but perceiving the superiority of his forces, they kept all the galleys in their harbour, to prevent the enemy from entering there. Alexander, therefore, was contented to draw up his ships near the bank along the shore, where they rode in safety, and kept the enemy from annoying his workmen, who were employed upon the bank.

175. The besiegers, thus protected, went on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them ; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards, heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former one ; in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships, which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank.

176. Thus, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged arrows, stones, and burning torches. Thus, by degrees, approaching to the foot of the wall, the Tyrians were attacked in close combat, and invested on all sides, both by sea and land. A general attack was now therefore thought necessary ; and the king manning his galleys, which he had joined to each other, ordered them to approach the walls about midnight, and attack the city with resolution.

177. The Tyrians now gave themselves over for lost ; when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmering of light which before darted through the gloom ; the sea rose by insensible degrees, and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, increased to a dreadful storm ; the vessels dashed one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, were either loosened or broke to pieces ; the planks split, and making a horrible crash, carried off the soldiers with them ; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer the galleys thus fastened together. At last, however, they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part were in a shattered condition.

178. This good fortune of the Tyrians was counterbalanced by an unexpected calamity ; they had long expected succours from Carthage, a flourishing colony of their own, but they now received

advice from thence that the Carthagenians were absolutely unable to give them any assistance ; being overawed themselves by a powerful army of Syracusans, who were laying waste their country. The Tyrians, therefore, frustrated in their hopes, still retained the resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity ; and accordingly sent off their women and children to Carthage, as being of no use in the defence of their city.

179. And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them, by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way.

180. To annoy the ships which advanced against their wall, they fixed grappling irons and scythes to joists or beams ; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bow) they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy ; these crushed some to pieces by their great weight ; and the hooks or pensile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships.

181. They also had brazen shields which they drew red hot out of the fire ; and, filling these with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention, for the moment this burning sand got to the flesh through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close that there was no pulling it off, so that the soldiers throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

182. It was now thought that Alexander, quite discouraged with his loss, was determined to relinquish the siege ; but he resolved to make a last effort, with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the wall ; however, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

183. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the

danger ; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the *Argyraspides* mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by *Admetus*, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a spear as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery.

184. He himself ascended one of the towers which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest dangers his courage had ever made him hazard ; for being immediately known by his *insignia*, and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders ; killing with javelins several of those who defended the wall : then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with the sword, and others with the shield, either into the city or the sea ; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall.

185. He soon ascended the wall, by the assistance of floating bridges : and followed by the principal officers, possessed himself of the two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches ; the fleet had forced into the harbour ; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy masters of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called *Agenor*, and there stood their ground : but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly.

186. At the same time Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades, who had been taken in their return to *Sidon*, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut, in the sight of the whole army.

187. The Tyrians, thus reduced to the last extremity, shut themselves up in their houses, to avoid the sword of the conqueror ; others rushed into the midst of the enemy, to sell their lives as dearly as they could ; and some threw stones from the tops of their houses, to crush the sailors below ; the old men waited at their doors, expecting every instant to be sacrificed, from the rage of the soldiers. In this general carnage, the Sidonian soldiers alone, that were in Alexander's army, seemed touched with pity for the fate of the wretched inhabitants ; they gave protection to many of the Tyrians, whom they considered as countrymen,

and carried great numbers of them privately on board their ships.

188. The numbers that were thus slaughtered by the enraged soldiers, were incredible : even after conquest, the victor's resentment did not subside ; he ordered no less than two thousand men, that were taken in the storm, to be nailed to crosses along the shore. The number of prisoners amounted to thirty thousand, and were all sold as slaves, in different parts of the world. Thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the most flourishing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

189. Whilst Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he received a second letter from Darius, in which that monarch seemed more sensible of his power than before ; he now gave him the title of king, and offered him ten thousand talents as a ransom for his captive mother and wife ; he offered him his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the river Euphrates ; he hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune, and described at large the powers he was still possessed of to oppose.

190. These terms were so considerable, that when the king debated upon them in council, Parmenio, one of his generals, could not help observing, that if he were Alexander, he would agree to such a proposal ; to which Alexander nobly replied, " And so would I, were I Parmenio ! " He therefore treated the proposals of Darius with haughty contempt, and refused to accept of treasures which he already considered as his own.

191. From Tyre, Alexander marched to Jerusalem, fully resolved to punish that city, for having refused to supply his army with provisions during the last siege, but the resentment of the conqueror was averted by meeting a procession of the inhabitants of that city on his way, marching out to receive him, dressed in white, with a Jewish high priest before them, with a mitre on his head, on the front of which the name of God was written.

192. The moment the king perceived the high priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect, bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with religious veneration. Then the Jews, surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise ; they could scarce believe their eyes ; and did not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

193. Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he who was adored by every one, adored the high priest of the Jews ? " I do not,"

replied Alexander, "adore the high priest, but the God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war, as I was revolving the methods how to conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream, exhorted me to banish my fear, bade me cross the Hellespont boldly, and assured me that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians."

194. This speech, delivered with an air of sincerity, no doubt had its effect in encouraging the army, and establishing an opinion that Alexander's mission was from heaven. Alexander having embraced the high priest, was conducted by him to the temple, where after he had explained to him many prophecies in different parts of the Old Testament, concerning his invasion, he taught him to offer up a sacrifice in the Jewish manner.

195. Alexander was so much pleased with his reception upon this occasion, that, before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade them ask any favour they should think proper. Their request was, To be allowed to live according to their ancient laws and maxims; to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, as they were by their laws exempted from labour, and could consequently have no harvest: they requested, that such of their brethren as settled in Asia, should be indulged in the same privileges. Thus, being gratified in all their desires great numbers of them offered to enlist themselves in his army. Soon after the Samaritans demanded the same favours; but he gave them an evasive answer, and promised to take the matter into consideration, upon his return.

196. From this city he went on to Gaza, where he found a more obstinate resistance than he had expected; but at length taking the town by storm, and having cut the garrison consisting of ten thousand men to pieces, with brutal ferocity, he ordered Bœtis, the governor, to be brought before him; and having in vain endeavoured to intimidate him, commanded, at last, that holes should be bored through his heels, and thus to be tied by cords to the back of his chariot, and in this manner to be dragged round the walls of the city. This he did in imitation of Achilles, whom Homer describes as having dragged Hector round the walls of Troy in the same manner: but it was reading the poet to very little advantage, to imitate his hero in the most unworthy part of his character.

197. As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to own him for their sovereign; being

heartily displeased with the Persian government; as likewise the Persian governors; as the one destroyed their liberty, the other ridiculed their religion.

198. Masæus, the Persian governor, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents (about one hundred and forty thousand pounds) and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt without meeting with the least opposition.

199. He now therefore formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter. This temple was situated at a distance of twelve days journey from Memphis, in the midst of the sandy deserts of Lybia. Alexander having read in Homer and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of the heroes were represented as the sons of some deity, was willing himself to pass for a hero, and knew that he could bribe the priests to compliment him, as of celestial origin. Setting out therefore along the river Memphis, and after having passed Canopus; opposite the island of Pharos, he there laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which in a little time became one of the most flourishing towns for commerce in the world.

200. From thence he had a journey of three hundred and forty miles to the temple of Jupiter; the way leading through inhospitable deserts, and plains of sand. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived amidst the dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least appearance of any land that had been cultivated.

201. To increase their calamity, the water that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed, and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They were however greatly refreshed by the accidental falling of a shower, which served to encourage them in their progress, till they came to the temple of the deity. Nothing can be more fanciful than the description the historians have given us of this gloomy retreat; it is represented as a small spot of fertile ground, in the midst of vast solitudes of sand; it is covered with the thickest trees, that exclude the rays of the sun; and watered with several springs, which preserved it in perpetual verdure; near the grove where

the temple stood was the *Fountain of the Sun*, which at day-break was luke-warm, at noon cold, then towards evening insensibly grew warmer, and was boiling hot at midnight.

202. The god worshipped in this place, had his statue made of emeralds, and other precious stones ; and from the head to the navel resembled a ram. No sooner had Alexander appeared before the altar, than the high-priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter ; the conqueror quite intoxicated with adulation, asked, " Whether he should have success in his expedition ; " the priest answered, " That he should be monarch of the world ; " the conqueror inquired, " If his father's murderers were punished ; " the priest replied, " That his father Jupiter was immortal, but that the murderers of Philip had been all extirpated."

203. Alexander having ended his sacrifice, and rewarded the priests who had been so liberal of their titles, from that time supposed himself, or would have it supposed that he was the son of Jupiter. Upon his return from the temple, and during his stay in Egypt, he settled the government of that country upon the most solid foundation ; he divided it into districts, over which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself alone. And thus having settled affairs there, he set out in the beginning of spring, to march against Darius, who was preparing to oppose him.

204. He made some stay at Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he had left behind ; and advanced towards new conquests. On his march, the wife of Darius died in child-bed, and was honoured with a funeral ceremony, due to her exalted character. He continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he at last expected to come up with the enemy, and strike one blow, which should decide the fate of nations. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice ; but finding at last that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, prepared himself again for battle.

205. For this purpose he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that at Issus, and marched it towards Ninevah. His forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse ; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province ; all whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass. But he arrived too late.

206. The Tygris is the most rapid river of all the East ; and it was with some difficulty that Alexander's soldiers were able to stem the current, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and pointed out with his hand

the passage to his soldiers ; he commanded them with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms ; and let their baggage that retarded them in the water, float away with the stream. At length they were drawn up in battle array on the opposite shore ; and encamped two days near the river still prepared for action.

207. An eclipse of the moon, which happened about that time, gave Alexander's soldiers great uneasiness ; but he brought forward some Egyptian soothsayers, who assured the army, " That the moon portended calamities not to the Greeks, but the Persians." By this artifice, the hopes and the courage of the soldiers being revived once more, the king led them on to meet the enemy, and began his march at midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the Gordylean mountains. At break of day news was brought, that Darius was but twenty miles from the place they then were.

208. All things now therefore threatened an approaching battle ; when Darius, who had already twice sued for peace, sent new conditions, still more advantageous than the former. But Alexander refused his offers ; proudly replying, " That the world would not permit two suns nor two sovereigns." Thus all negotiation being at an end, both sides prepared for battle ; equally irritated, and equally ambitious. Darius pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamila, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot, which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in ; as his fighting in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there.

209. Alexander upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and pallisades ; for he was determined to leave all his baggage and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break ; who upon this advice had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array ; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other.

210. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's army, he halted ; and having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched ; during which Alexander

at the head of his infantry lightly armed, and his royal regiments marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

211. Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them that there was no occasion for making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; and he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight on this occasion for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech he ordered them to take some repose.

212. It is said, Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night time, alleging that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise and in the dark; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day light. This was a haughty, but at the same time a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night time, and in an unknown country. Darius fearing he should be attacked at unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

213. In the mean time Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed in a manner by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom, so that when his generals were assembled at day break before his tent to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment.

214. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake, "How could it be possible," said Alexander, "for me not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into my hands?" Upon this he immediately took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and if possible to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired.

215. There was a great difference between the two armies in

respect to numbers, but much more with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse; but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; an empty phantom rather than a real army. Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown officers.

216. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person, believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround and to charge them at one and the same time, both in front and flank, which from Alexander's disposition, he soon after found impossible.

217. Darius being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march directly forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Upon which Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service, commanded by Menidas; but as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry.

218. Besides the advantage of numbers, the Persians had that also of coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more, and by which Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed. However, the Macedonians marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put the enemy to flight. Upon this the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes, against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success.

219. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut

them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

220. Alexander seeing Darius set his whole army in motion, in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king; and crying, that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head, (a sure omen of victory) he showed with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it: and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever.

221. Alexander now pressed to the place in which Darius was stationed, and the presence of the two opposing kings inspired both sides with vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavours were to save the lives of their respective princes at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius' equerry with a javelin, the Persians as well as Macedonians imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation.

222. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate that this prince having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner. But perceiving from his chariot, that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and as divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly and thinned their ranks, when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

223. But in the mean time, finding that the left wing of his army which was commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger, Alexander was obliged to desist from pursuing Darius, whom he had almost overtaken, and wheeled round to attack the Persian horse, that after plundering the camp, were retiring in good order; them he cut in pieces; and the scale of battle turning in favour of the Macedonians, a total rout of the Persians ensued. The pursuit was warm, and the slaughter amazing: Alexander

rode as far as Arbela after Darius : every moment hoping to come up with the monarch ; he had just passed through when Alexander arrived, but he left his treasure, with his bow and shield, as a prey to the enemy.

224. Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners ; which at least is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable ; he not losing, according to the last mentioned author, above twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of October, about the same time that, two years before, the battle of Issus was fought. As Guagamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

225. Darius, after this dreadful defeat, rode towards the river Lycus, with a very few attendants ; he was advised to break down the bridges to secure his retreat ; but he refused, saying, he would not save his life, at the expense of thousands of his subjects. After riding a great number of miles full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela ; from thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his satraps, and a few of his guards, expecting the worst, despairing of fortune, a wretched survivor of his country's ruin.

226. In the mean time, Alexander approached near Babylon, and Mazæus, the governor, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered to him without striking a blow. Alexander, therefore, entered the city, at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire that they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march.

227. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way, silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincense but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made to the king ; viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses, as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the Magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country ; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians.

228. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, of which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination

can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after the infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city, and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius' money and moveables, which amounted to incredible sums, and which he distributed with generosity among his soldiers. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus; and the command of the forces he left there, to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

229. From Babylon Alexander marched to the province of Syraceni, afterwards to Susa, where he arrived after a march of twenty days, and found treasures to an infinite amount. These also he applied to the purpose of rewarding merit and courage among his troops. In this city he left the mother and children of Darius; and from thence he went forward till he came to a river called Pasitigris. Having crossed it, with nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of Uxii.

230. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia, a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province. He was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune, but faithful to his sovereign: he resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander to sue for quarter, which they obtained at last, by the interposition of Sysigambis.

231. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty, permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges, would not suffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands, without paying any tribute. From thence he passed on to the pass of Susa, defended by mountains almost inaccessible, and by Ariobarzanes, with a body of five thousand men; he there stopped for a while, but being led by a different route among the mountains, he came over the pass, and so cut the army that defended it in pieces.

232. Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which he informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon

the report of his advancing towards them, were determined to plunder Darius' treasures, with which he was entrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy.

233. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of his march, and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before. But as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict.

234. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and as they irresistibly brought him to commiserate their condition, he bade them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond; and assured them, that they should again see their wives and country. They chose, however, to remain in a place where misfortune now became habitual; wherefore he rewarded them liberally for their sufferings, and commanded the governor of the province to treat them with mildness and respect.

235. The day following he entered the city of Persepolis, at the head of his victorious soldiers; who, though the inhabitants made no resistance, began to cut in pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and forbid his soldiers further violence. The riches he had found in other places were but trifling, when compared to those he found here. This however did not save the city; for being one day at a banquet among his friends, and happening to drink to excess, the conversation ran upon the various cruelties exercised by the Persians in Greece, particularly at Athens.

236. Thais, an Athenian courtesan, urged the pusillanimity of not taking revenge for such repeated slaughters. All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table, (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward, to execute his mad exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations, and, after singing and dancing, surrounded the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with

lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. . . However, Alexander was sorry not long after for what he had done ; and there-upon gave orders for extinguishing the fire ; but it was too late.

237. While Alexander was thus triumphing in all the exultation of success, the wretched Darius was by this time arrived at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot ; among whom were four thousand Greeks, that were faithful to him to the last : besides these, he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand Bactrian horse, whom Bessus, their governor, commanded.

238. Darius, even with so small a force, still conceived hopes of opposing his rival ; or at least of protracting the war ; but he was surrounded with traitors ; his want of success had turned all mankind against him ; and Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains, which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command.

239. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands ; and in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. The traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them that they were going to their destruction ; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was ready to fall, at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These promises soon prevailed upon the perfidious army ; the traitors seized and bound their monarch in chains of gold, under the appearance of honour, as he was a king ; then enclosing him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

240. In this manner they carried him with the utmost despatch, until being informed that the Grecian army was still hotly pursuing them, they found it impossible either to conciliate the friendship of Alexander, or to secure a throne for themselves : they therefore, once more, gave Darius his liberty, and desired him to make the best of his escape with them from the conqueror ; but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had already suffered ; and appealing to Alexander for justice, refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into the utmost fury, thrusting him with their darts and their spears, and left him to linger in this manner, unattended, the remains of his wretched life.

241. The traitors then made their escape different ways ; while the victorious Macedonians at length coming up, found Darius in

a solitude, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough, before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. He had a Persian prisoner whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost.

242. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he had died in his debt, that he gave him many thanks for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored to their former splendour; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe; that he thought he need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings.

243. After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give him," said he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine: and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affections;" saying these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius' body, he wept bitterly; and by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate.

244. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius' body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, to be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and entombed with his ancestors. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age: six of which he reigned with felicity: in him the Persian empire ended, after having existed, from the time of Cyrus the Great, a period of two hundred and ninety-nine years.

CHAPTER XV.

From the Invasion of Persia to the Death of Alexander.

1. THE death of Darius only served to inflame the spirit of ambition in Alexander to pursue further conquests. After having in vain attempted to pursue Bessus, who now assumed the name of king, he desisted, in order to cross Parthia; and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mardii, the Arii, the Drangæ,

the Arichosii, and several other nations ; into which his army marched with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together ; almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance ; and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

2. It was upon one of these excursions that Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, came to pay him a visit. A violent desire of seeing Alexander, had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him ; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance ; and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward, with three hundred women ; and the moment she perceived the king, she leapt from her horse, having two lances in her right hand.

3. She looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively did not think his stature answerable to his fame ; for the barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air ; and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him ; adding that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place ; after which, Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians.

4. Alexander now enjoying a little repose, abandoned himself to sensuality ; and he whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and excessive feasting ; in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country.

5. He happened, among these women to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest ; and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness ; whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in

her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien, that she was not of vulgar birth, and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered "That she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son ; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army."

6. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions ; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

7. But now the veteran soldiers who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against the odious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learnt in Susa and Ecbatana. The king, therefore thought that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose, led them to Bessus.

8. But, as the army was encumbered with booty, and an useless train of baggage, so that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into the great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary ;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this ; but after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example.

9. Hitherto we have seen Alexander triumphing by a course of virtue ; we are now to behold him swollen up by success, spoiled by flattery, and enervated by vices ; exhibiting a very doubtful character, and mixing the tyrant with the hero. A conspiracy was formed against him by one Dymnus ; this was communicated by a Macedonian soldier to Philotas, one of Alexander's favourites. Philotas neglected divulging it to his master ; and thus became suspected himself, as being concerned in the conspiracy. Parmenio, also, the father of this young favourite, became equally obnoxious ; and as the suspicion of tyrants is equally fatal with a conviction, Alexander doomed both to destruction.

10. In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas who was then in a deep sleep ; when starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hand, he cried, " Alas ! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness." After this they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word.

11. His hands were tied behind him, and his head covered with

a coarse worn out piece of cloth. Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up or open his lips ; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his speech and his voice by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking.

12. The result of this interview was, that Philotas should be put to the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion, were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas at first discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind ; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day the answers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die ; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some others of the conspirators.

13. The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio ; whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father, now he had put the son to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio.

14. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entrusted with the king's treasure, which amounted to a hundred and four-score thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province ; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio ; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas' seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamus was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night at Cleander's.

15. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together with a great number of attendants to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus espied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy, and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter, which

opening, and afterwards that under the name of Philotas, he seemed pleased with the contents.

16. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat ; and the rest gave him several wounds even after he was dead. He was, at the time of his death, three-score and ten years of age, and had served his master with a fidelity and zeal which in the end was but very ill rewarded.

17. In order to prevent the ill consequences that might arise from the contemplation of these cruelties, Alexander set out upon his march and continued to pursue Bessus, upon which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. Bessus, however, was treated by his followers in the same manner he had treated the king his master ; Spitamenes, his chief confidant, having formed a conspiracy against him, seized his person, put him in chains, forced the royal robes from his back ; and with a chain round his neck, he was delivered up in the most ignominious manner to Alexander.

18. The king caused this man to be treated with his usual cruelty ; after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius' mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other, and to each of these trees one of the limbs of the traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards the trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him.

19. Thus uniting in his person, at once great cruelty and great enterprise, Alexander still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. A city inhabited by the Branchid he totally overturned, and massacred all the inhabitants in cold blood, only for being descended from some traitorous Greeks, that had delivered up the treasures of a temple with which they had been entrusted. He then advanced to the river Jaxerthes, where he received a wound in the leg ; from thence he went forward and took the capital of Sogdiana ; he there received an embassy from the Scythians, who lived free and independent, but now submitted to him.

20. He then marched to Cyropolis and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whom it was called, and taking the place, he abandoned it to plunder. In this manner he went on, capriciously destroying some towns and building others, settling colonies in some places, and laying whole provinces waste at his pleasure. Among his other projects an invasion of the kingdom of Scythia was

one ; but the crossing of the river Jaxerthes was by no means an easy task ; however, Alexander being always foremost in encountering dangers, led on his troops across the stream, which was very rapid, and gained a signal victory over the Scythians, who vainly attempted to oppose him on the other side.

21. A strong hold called Petra Oxiani, defended by a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers, with ammunition and provision for two years, was still considered as impregnable. However, as difficulties only seemed to excite his ambition, his soldiers scaled the cliff, and the barbarians supposing that the whole Macedonian army was got over their heads, surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared ; but Alexander, forgetting the faith of treaty, and the humanity which became a soldier on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses at the foot of the same rock.

22. After this, having subdued the Massagetæ and Dahæ, he entered the province of Basaria, from thence he advanced to Marcander, and appointed Clytus governor of that province. This was an old officer who had fought under Philip, and signalised himself on many occasions. At the battle of Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rasaces had his arm raised in order to strike him behind, Clytus covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hallanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander ; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother.

23. This favour, however, only advanced Clytus to a post of greatest danger ; one evening at an entertainment, the king, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits ; his boasting even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke the truth, but particularly the old generals of his army, whose admiration were engrossed by the actions of his father. Clytus was intoxicated, and turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly.

24. The sense of the passage was, that the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned ; because by these means brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood. The king suspecting Clytus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said. As no one answered, Clytus raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time, which created a great dispute between the young and old men.

25. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he

nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clytus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clytus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, he went such lengths as to defend Parmenio publicly, and to assert that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

26. Alexander telling him that in giving to cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause, Clytus rises up with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheless this hand (said he to him, extending it at the same time) that saved your life at the battle of Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur; but the tragical end of Parmenio shows what reward they and myself may expect for all our services."

27. This last reproach stung Alexander; however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right (says Clytus as he rose up) not to bear free-born men at his table who can only tell truth. He will do well to pass his life among barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle, and his white robe."

28. But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clytus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clytus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, singing with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

29. The king had no sooner murdered his faithful servant, than he perceived the atrociousness of the act; he threw himself upon the dead body, forced out the javelin, and would have destroyed himself, had he not been prevented by his guards, who seized and carried him forcibly to his own apartment, where the flattery and the persuasions of his friends at length served to alleviate his remorse. In order to divert his melancholy, Alexander having drawn his army out of the garrison, where he had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabana. In his way he met with a dreadful storm, in which his army suffered greatly; from thence he went into the country of Sacæ, which he soon overrun and laid waste. Soon after this, Alexander

tes, one of its monarchs, received him in his palace, which was adorned with barbarous magnificence. He had a daughter called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense.

30. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife : covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations in such bonds as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, when it was seen that he made one of his slaves his father-in-law. But, as, after his murdering Clytus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, for they had nothing else left that was free.

31. Alexander having thus conquered all the Persian provinces, now with boundless ambition resolved upon a perilous march into India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorned themselves; but being willing either to impress his soldiers with an idea of his authority, or to imitate the barbarians in the magnificence of their titles, he was resolved not only to be called, but to be believed the son of Jupiter, as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate and adore him after the Persian manner.

32. To soothe and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of a court, who are more dangerous to princes than the arrows of their enemies. But the Macedonians indeed would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them to a man refusing to vary in any manner from the customs of their country.

33. Among the number who disdained to offer these base adulations, was Callisthenes the philosopher : but his integrity cost him his life; he was accused of being privy to a conspiracy formed by Hermolaus, a young officer, upon the life of the king, and for this reason he was thrown into a dungeon and loaded with irons; he soon found that he had no mercy to expect; the most grievous tortures were inflicted upon him, in order to extort a confession of guilt, but he persisted in his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his torments.

34. The kingdom of India, for which Alexander now set out, was an extensive territory, which has been usually divided into two parts—India on this side, and India on the other side of the Ganges. All the Indians at that time were free, nor even did they adopt the base custom of the Greeks, in purchasing slaves to do the com-

mon offices of life. The people of that country were then divided into seven classes.

35. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, were the guardians of religion—the second and the greatest was that of the husbandmen, whose only employment was to cultivate the ground—the third was that of herdsmen and shepherds, who led the herds and flocks among the mountains—the fourth consisted of tradesmen and merchants, among whom pilots and seamen were included—the fifth was of soldiers, whose only employment was war—the sixth was of magistrates, who superintended the actions of others, either in cities, or in the country, and reported the whole to the king—the seventh class consisted of persons employed in the public councils, and who shared the cares of government with their sovereign. These orders of state never blended nor intermarried with each other; none of these were permitted to follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another.

36. Alexander having entered India, all the petty kings of the country came to meet him and make their submissions. On his march he took the city of Nysa; he then marched towards Dædala, and dispersed his army over the whole country, and took possession of it without resistance. He afterwards went forwards towards the city of Hagosa, which after being besieged in form, surrendered at discretion. The rock of Aornos, which was deemed inaccessible, and which it was said Hercules himself was not able to take, but the garrison in a panic delivered it up to his army.

37. From thence he marched to Aclesimus, and after a march of sixteen days, arrived on the banks of the great river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders he had before received. Here he was met by Omphis, a king of the country, who did homage to Alexander, and made him a present of fifty-six elephants, and other animals of prodigious size. The ambassadors from Abisaries, a neighbouring monarch, came with the same offers, sent presents, and promised fidelity; there was still a third monarch, whose name was Porus, from whom Alexander expected similar submission: he even went to require it of him, but Porus answered with great coldness, that while he could fight, he should disdain to obey.

38. In pursuance of this message, Alexander resolved to enforce obedience, and giving the superintendence of his elephants to Omphis, who had now changed his name to Taxilus, he advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him, and posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded with thirty thousand foot, not having at most above seven thousand horse.

39. This prince was mounted upon an elephant of much larger size than any of the rest ; and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men, so that clothed in his armour, glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

40. The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide, (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding its great breadth, for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel, and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants.

41. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers ; and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with terror. However this could not intimidate an army of men whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities ; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as the banks were so craggy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

42. Alexander was in great perplexity with the difficulties that attended the passage of this large river ; however he was resolved to attempt it by night, and choose one whose lightning, thunder, and impetuous winds, conspired to drown the noise of his troops in their embarkation. Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent ; and the moment Alexander was landed, he drew up the forces that had passed with him, consisting of six thousand foot, and five thousand horse, in order of battle.

43. Porus upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's vanguard, and the whole army was behind them ; but being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus' son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horse, and all the chariots were taken.

44. Porus upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly leaving only

a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy.

45. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants, at a hundred feet distance from one another, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear their horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus' army.

46. Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence and arrived a little after; and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led as they were very much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner.

47. But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them, and marching against the left wing, sent Coenus, with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot into disorder.

48. Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bow-men on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus' left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself would charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him, insomuch, that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend them-

selves from the thousand bow-men and against Alexander and Cœnus.

49. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which the sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind their elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse, but that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx, moving on a sudden surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and the leaders.

50. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought ; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke with inexpressible fury the thickest of them, when the Indian horse seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge ; however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants, upon which, the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked.

51. The elephants, being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, did not observe their usual order ; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes ; but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them whenever they came forward, or charged with darts, those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire.

52. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force ; all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces ; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Catorus, who had continued in the camp, with the rest of the army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

53. The Indians lost, on this occasion, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse ; not to mention the chariots, which were all broke to pieces ; and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus' two sons fell in this battle ; with Spitacus,

governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot; and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but four-score of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge; ten bow-men of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

54. Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who in a like disaster, was the first that fled; on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature and his unparalleled bravery.

55. Alexander finding who he was, by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advanced as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How!" says he, "is it Taxilus that calls; that traitor to his country and kingdom!" Immediately after which he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired.

56. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous of saving so brave a prince; and thereupon despatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him: after much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forward in order to receive him, with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mein, he being about five cubits in height.

57. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune; but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first; and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus: "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that single word."

58. Alexander, struck with the greatness of his soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and

treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death.—It is hard to say whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

59. Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought ; and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa, from his victory ; and the other Bucephalus, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

60. Alexander having now conquered Porus, advanced into India, which having never been a warlike nation, he subdued with the rapidity rather of a traveller than a conqueror. Numberless petty states submitted to him, sensible that his stay would be short, and his conquests evanescent.

61. Alexander, passing near a city where several Brachmans or Indian priests dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and if possible to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them ; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, the philosopher, who had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them.

62. He met not far from the city, fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. The chief of the band was Mandanis. He addressed himself first to Calanus an Indian, reputed the wisest man of his country, who though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded in his extreme old age to attend upon the court, and to him he told the occasion of his coming.

63. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus' clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing ; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust ; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine. That man's guilt had occasioned a change of this happy condition ; and that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long and painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion he had restored them their former abundance ; however, that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their ancient

confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

64. Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, "That they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honour and riches of all kinds." Then Mandanis assuming a haughty philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself. That he was exempted from want, desire, or fear. That so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him with all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body) and set him at full liberty.

65. Calanus appeared more tractable, and notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy. As it was Alexander's chief ambition to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in their expeditions into the East, he resolved like them to penetrate as long as he could meet new nations to conquer; however, his soldiers, satiated with spoil, and fatigued with repeated encounters, at last began to open their eyes at the wildness of his ambition.

66. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion, others insolently cried out, "That they would march no further." The chief object of the king's wishes was to invade the territories of Agramenes, a prince who lived beyond the great river Ganges, and who was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, two thousand elephants, twenty thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots.

67. The soldiers, however refused to wander over those great deserts that lay beyond the Ganges, and more terrible to them than the greatest army the East could muster; he addressed them in the most persuasive terms not to leave their general behind; he threatened them, that he would take his Scythian and his Persian soldiers, and with them alone he would make conquests worthy of his name and of his glory; but still the Macedonian soldiers persisted sullen and inflexible, and only at last complied after many persuasive orations to follow him towards the south, to discover the nearest ocean, and to take the course of the river Indus as their infallible guide.

68. For this expedition he embarked in a fleet consisting of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats to carry the troops

and provisions ; after five days sailing, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and the Acesines mixed their streams, there the ships were very much shattered, because those rivers unite with prodigious rapidity. At last he came to the country of the Oxydrace and the Mallis, the most valiant people in the East ; however Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of their strong holds, and at last marched against their capital city, where the greatest part of their forces were retired.

69. It was upon this occasion, that seizing a scaling ladder, himself the first, he mounted the wall, followed only by two of his officers. His attendants believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him ; but the ladder breaking, he was left alone. It was now that his rashness became his safety ; for leaping from the wall into the city, which was crowded with enemies, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest, and even killed the general who advanced in the throng.

70. Thus, with his back to a tree that happened to be near, he received all the darts of the enemy in a shield, and kept even the boldest at a distance ; at last, an Indian discharging an arrow of three feet long, it pierced his coat of mail and his right breast, and so great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. The Indian came up to strip him, supposing him really what he appeared, but Alexander at that instant recalled his spirits, and plunged the dagger in his side. By this time a part of the king's attendants came to his succour, and forming themselves round his body, till his soldiers without found means of bursting the gates, saved him, and put all the inhabitants without distinction to the sword.

71. The wound, which at first seemed dangerous, having in the space of six or seven days a most favourable appearance, Alexander mounted his horse, and showed himself to the army, who seemed to view him with insatiable pleasure. Thus continuing his voyage, and subduing the country on each side as he passed along, the pilots perceived from the softness of the breezes that the ocean was near. Nothing so much astonished the Macedonian soldiers as the ebbing and flowing of the tide.

72. They were amazed when they saw it rise to a great height and overflow the country, which they considered as a mark of divine resentment ; they were no less terrified some hours after, when they saw the river forsake its banks, and leave those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. Thus after a voyage of nine months, he at last stood upon the shore ; and after having offered sacrifices to Neptune, and having looked wishfully on the broad expanse of waters before him, he is said to have wept for having no more worlds left to conquer. Here he put an end to

his excursion ; and having appointed Nearchus admiral of his fleet, with orders to coast along the Indian shore as far as the Persian gulph, he set out with his army for Babylon.

73. Nothing could exceed the hardships which his army sustained in their return ; passing through a country destitute of all sorts of provision, they were obliged to feast on the beasts of burden, and were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which they had encountered so many dangers ; those diseases also, that generally accompany famine, completed their calamity, and destroyed them in great numbers. After a march of three-score days, they arrived in the province of Gedrosia, the fertility of which soon banished from the minds of the soldiery all their former difficulties.

74. Alexander passed through the country not with the military pomp of a conqueror, but in the licentious disguise of an enthusiast ; still willing to imitate Bacchus, he was drawn by eight horses, on a scaffold in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasting. Along the roads where he passed, were placed casks of wine in great abundance, and these the soldiery drained in honour of his mock deity. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of Bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, with frantic mirth, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of lewdness. This vice produced one of a much more formidable nature in the king's mind ; for it always inflamed his passions to cruelty, and the executioner generally followed the feast.

75. While he refreshed his army in these parts, Nearchus was returned from his expedition along the coast, and brought him strange accounts of the gold to be found in some islands, and of the wonders that were to be seen in others ; he was therefore commanded to make some further discoveries, and then enter the mouth of the river Euphrates, to meet the king at Babylon. He here also executed an act of rigorous justice upon Cleander and others, who had formerly been the ministers of his vengeance in cutting off Parmenio.

76. Against these murderers great complaints had been made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded ; and such was the complexion of their crimes, that nothing but the certain expectation of Alexander's never returning from India, could encourage them to commit such. All men were glad to see them delivered over to justice. Cleander with six hundred soldiers, whom he had employed were publicly executed ; every one rejoicing, that the anger of the king was at last turned against the ministers of his vengeance,

77. As Alexander drew nearer to Babylon, he visited the tomb

of Cyrus, in the city of Pasargada; and here he put a Persian prince whose name was Orsines, to death, at the instigation of Bagoas, an eunuch, who falsely accused Orsines of robbing the tomb; here also, Calanus, the Indian, having lived four-score and three years, without ever having been afflicted with sickness, now feeling the approaches of disorder, resolved to put himself to death. Alexander imagined he might easily be dissuaded from his design, but finding, in opposition to all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was inflexible, he gave orders for erecting a funeral pile for him, upon which the Indian was resolved to die.

78. Calanus rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; intreated them to be merry that day, and to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them, at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon.

79. After saying these words he ascended, with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and when the flame reached him he did not make the least motion, but with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the same posture in which he at first had laid himself, and completed his sacrifice, by dying agreeably to the strange superstitions of the enthusiasts of his country.

80. Alexander punctually obeyed him in his admonitions to debauchery. A banquet followed the night after, in which Promachus received a talent as a prize for having drank the largest quantity of wine; he survived his victory, however, but three days, and of the rest of the guests, forty-one died of their intemperance. From Pasargada, Alexander proceeded to Susa, where he married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and gave her youngest sister in marriage to his favourite Hephæstion. Four-score Persian ladies of rank were given to the principal favourites among his captains. The nuptials were solemnised after the Persian manner.

81. He likewise feasted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for their libations. Upon this occasion there appeared at Susa three hundred young soldiers, dressed in the Macedonian manner, whom Alexander intended particularly to favour, in order to check the licentiousness of his veterans, who had but too just reasons to murmur.

82. While Alexander was thus employed in Persia, a new commotion was carrying on in Greece. Harpalus, whom Alex-

ander had appointed governor of Babylon, being disgusted with his master's cruelty, and ambitious of power himself, went over into Greece; with immense sums which he raised from the plundered prisoners of Persia. He had credit enough to assemble a body of six thousand soldiers, and with these he landed at Athens; money, at that time being thought all powerful in Greece, he lavished immense sums among the mercenary orators, whose business it was to inflame the minds of the people.

83. Of all those, Phocion alone, to whom he offered seven hundred talents, preserved his well known integrity, and remained inflexible; his disinterestedness had long been the object of admiration, even in the time of Philip. Being offered a great sum of money, if not for his own acceptance, at least for the benefit of his children, "If my children," cried Phocion, "resemble me, the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to stimulate and heighten their luxury."

84. Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, why Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians. "It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man." Phocion rejoined, "let him suffer me still to enjoy that character and be really what I am taken for." This, therefore, was not a character to be corrupted; on the contrary, he used all his influence to prevent the success of Harpalus, who being ordered by the assembly to depart the city, lost all hopes of success.

85. This commotion was scarcely quelled, when another ensued, in consequence of a declaration, by which all the Macedonians, who from their age or infirmities were unable to bear the fatigues of war, should be sent back to Greece. They with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be entirely discharged from his service, murmuring against him as a despiser of his bravest troops, and as a cruel king, who wanted not their absence but their destruction; Alexander however, acted with that resolution upon this occasion, which always marked his character. Being seated on his tribunal of justice, he rushed among the principal mutineers, seized thirteen, and ordered them to be immediately punished.

86. The soldiers amazed at his intrepidity, withheld their complaints, and with downcast eyes seemed to beg for mercy. "You desired a discharge," cried he; "go then and publish to the world that you have left your prince to the mercy of strangers; from henceforth the Persians shall be my guards." This measure served only to increase the misery and the consternation

of his troops ; they attended him with tears and lamentations, till at last softened by their penitence, he once more took them into favour and affection.

87. Now secure from insurrection, he gave himself up to mirth and feasting ; his army was followed by all the ministers of pleasure ; he spent whole nights and days in immoderate drinking, and in one of these excesses, Hephæstion lost his life. This courtier was the most intimate friend of Alexander. Craterus, alone of all the Macedonians seemed to dispute this honour with him. " Craterus," as the king used to say, " loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander," The death of this favourite threw the monarch into excessive sorrow, he seemed to receive no consolation ; he even put to death the physician who attended him, and the extraordinary funeral honours celebrated at his arrival in Babylon, marked the greatness of his affliction.

88. After various combats, conquests, cruelties, follies and excesses, Alexander arrived at Babylon : the Chaldeans who pretended to foresee future events, attempted to persuade him not to enter that city. The Greek philosophers, on the other hand displayed the futility of their predictions. Babylon was a theatre for him to display his glory in, and ambassadors from all the nations he had conquered were there in readiness to celebrate his triumphs. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to the ambassadors, with a grandeur and dignity suitable to his power, yet with the affability and politeness of a private courtier.

89. At that time he wrote a letter which was to have been read publicly in the assembly at the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crimes deserving death, ordering Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But the Athenians and Etolians did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

90. Finding Babylon, in extent and conveniency, superior to all the other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire, and for that purpose was desirous of adding to it all the ornaments possible. But though he was much employed in projects of this kind, and in schemes even beyond human power to execute, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as this magnificent city afforded. He was often present at new banquets, where he drank with his usual intemperance.

91. On a particular occasion, having spent the whole night in a debauch, a second was proposed ; he accepted the invitation, and drank to such excess, that he fell upon the floor, dead to

appearance; and in this lifeless manner was carried a sad spectacle of debauchery to his palace. The fever continued, with some intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of the land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he gave his ring to Perdicas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

92. He struggled, however, with death for some time, and raising himself upon his elbow, he gave his hand to the soldiers, who pressed to kiss it; being then asked to whom he would leave his empire, he answered, "*To the most worthy.*" Perdicas inquiring at what time he should pay him divine honours, he replied, "*When you are happy.*" With these words he expired, being thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve, with more fortune than virtue.

93. In whatever light we view this monarch, we shall have little to admire, and less to imitate. That courage for which he was celebrated, is but a subordinate virtue; that fortune which still attended him, was but an accidental advantage; that discipline which prevailed in his army, was produced and cultivated by his father; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests were all his own. His victories, however, served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; they served to show to what degree the arts of peace can promote those of war.

94. In this picture, we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, growing more than a match for the rest of the world united, and leaving mankind an example of the superiority of intellect over brutal force. After the death of this monarch, Greece was rather considered as a seminary for the education and promotion of the laws of other nations, than a confederacy for enforcing and promulgating their own.

95. The successors of Alexander seized upon particular parts of his extensive empire, and what he gained with much fatigue and danger, became a prey to men who sheltered their ambition under the sanction and glory of his name. They had been taught by him a lesson of pride; and as he would never suffer an equal, his numerous successors could not think of admitting a superior.

96. They continued their disputes for dominion until in some measure they destroyed each other; and as no governments were ever worse conducted than theirs, so no period of history was ever left in such darkness, doubt, and confusion.

THE END.

